A GLEAM OF COMFORT

TO THIS

DISTRACTED EMPIRE,

IN DESPITE OF

FACTION, VIOLENCE, and CUNNING,

DEMONSTRATING

THE FAIRNESS AND REASONABLENESS

OF

NATIONAL CONFIDENCE

IN THE

PRESENT MINISTRY.

LONDON:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A GLEAM OF COMFORT TO THIS DISTRACTED EMPIRE.

TO emancipate a nation from calamities, her misfortunes muſt be ſought at their ſource; and fruitleſs is the hope of a perfect cure, unleſs the cauſe of evil be extinguiſhed.

His mind muſt be ſingularly organized who can behold, without pain, the preſent condition of the Britiſh empire. It is indeed no exaggeration to aſſert, that in almoſt every diſaſter that can afflict a ſtate, this nation unhappily ſurpaſſes the reſt of Europe. Public and private want; a monſtrous maſs of debt, and not the fainteſt hope of removing it; an immenſe fall in revenue, a large failure in our trade, and almoſt a certain proſpect of its total annihilation; a diſcontent and diſtruſt throughout our dominions; contempt and averſion in foreign nations; a precarious peace, and our neighbours arming at our threſhold. Theſe are but a few of the calamities of this empire; and ſure the review were melancholy, if we had no proſpect of redemption.

Dreadful,

Dreadful, however, as our condition is, it is not deſperate. We are unhappy, but not hopeleſs. It may ſavour of enthuſiaſm perhaps, but yet I cannot help believing, that the hand of Providence was concerned in forming the preſent adminiſtration, from whom alone this country has a right to entertain any confidence of being placed upon that footing of eaſe and comfort which a wiſe people ſhould aim at.

And does the reader think that the complicated miſeries which have diſtracted this country during the preſent reign are attributable, as ſhallow men aſſert, to the incapacity and wickedneſs of particular Miniſters or meaſures? Whatever effect it produce upon any man, or body of men, I have no ſcruple in affirming, that all the miſery, diſtreſs, ſhame, and diſhonour of this nation, *ſpring from*, are *twiſted with*, and *grow out of*, the *eſſence* and *nature* of the *Britiſh Conſtitution itſelf.*

The boaſted ſuperiority of our Conſtitution is ſaid to conſiſt in its blending a portion of three ordinary forms of government.—True, it contains certain qualities of each; and this very commixture it is that conſtitutes its vice, and renders it the very worſt form of civil polity in the univerſe.

An ariſtocracy is always haughty, imperious, and auſtere. Infinite miſchief grows out of ſuch a government, even if it were pure and unmixed. A democracy is ever turbulent, untractable, and violent; by its very genius, it produces eternal ſtrife and tumult, though it were reſiſted by no other power whatever. But curſed with both theſe forms, and poſſeſſing no uſeful, no vigorous, or efficient particle of a monarchy, the Britiſh government is at once the moſt miſerable and ridiculous ſyſtem that can be imagined. Our hiſtory is nothing but a ſeries of cabal, diſcord, ſedition, and rebellion to the Prince; of tyranny, treachery, and cruelty to each other. In other free governments, the rage of parties and the violence of factions ſometimes ceaſe, and the public enjoy a caſual hour of tranquility. But, with us, diſſenſions, animoſities, and outrages, are perennial. Looking back for a century, we ſee, from the daring ſpirit that ſprings from this conſtitution, the beſt monarchs counteracted in their laudable

views

views of abridging the pernicious powers of the people, and in ſtrengthening and eſtabliſhing the royal authority, whoſe feebleneſs and inefficacy encouraged theſe ſtruggles in the ſubjects. One amiable Prince (whom we have ſince juſtly canonized) periſhed upon a ſcaffold, and another, with his family, expelled the crown forever, contrary to every law, and againſt the ordinations of Heaven, (for who can doubt that Sovereigns are ſacred, and that government is a right divine ?) The land ſtreaming with rivers of blood, and cruelty and carnage deſolating theſe miſerable iſlands upon pretences of *liberty*. In the preſent century, we have had leſs ſlaughter and ferocious barbarity, it is true, but not more comfort. The block had luckily gone far in the annihilation of moſt of our great families, and the Crown, it is true, has had little trouble in latter times from the ariſtocracy. A new race of nobles, ſuitable to the views of the Court, was erected by the new family that was called to the throne (whoſe right is as holy, and whoſe perſons are juſt as ſacred, as the former family). But, by the *people*, the governing authority has been more thwarted, baffled, reſiſted, and reviled, than ever. Oppoſition grew ſyſtematic, and was openly proclaimed in the Sovereign's teeth. A favourite miniſter has been forced from the King's council with as little ceremony as they hang a highwayman, and party violence and villany carried to extremities ſcarcely credible.

We are told, that each of the three eſtates has its ſeparate properties, and that the Conſtitution ſubſiſts by the tenacious preſervation of theſe properties. But we find, in fact, that theſe properties are ſo undefined, ſo bewildered in ambiguity, that they become an endleſs ſource of wranglings and diſſentions. The excluſive right of the Commons yeſterday, is the clear right of the Lords to-morrow. Diſcuſſions and controverſies ſucceed, and the nation is kept in hot water, by a claſhing of juriſdictions, and a war of declarations and manifeſtos. The Crown, which is the natural ſeat of all powers, privileges, and properties, is put behind the curtain in many of theſe diſputes, and the King's name perhaps never once mentioned, when in fact he is

principal

principal in the cauſe, and planned the whole litigation. The balance of the ſyſtem has never exiſted at all; for nothing can be more directly repugnant than the theory and practice of this Conſtitution.

With thorough confidence therefore it is, that I ſubmit to thoſe who have ſagacity to penetrate this maſs of fatal foolery and liberality to own their conviction, whether it is not the true intereſt of the Engliſh nation, that this ſyſtem of vexation, inconſiſtency, impoſture, venality, corruption, and perfidy, ſhould be utterly demoliſhed. And that all the powers of all its various parts be concentrated in their rightful and genuine depoſitory—*the perſon of the King.*

The miniſters who beſt promote this GREAT CAUSE are moſt entitled to our confidence and gratitude. Our abhorrence alone is due to thoſe who thwart it.

IN THIS COUNTRY, there is a ſet of men who, upon this wiſe and virtuous principle, deſerve the ſincere reverence of this nation. A ſet of men, who have ſteadily and uniformly ſought the happineſs of the people of England, in their own deſpight, by exerting their beſt faculties to redeem us from the miſeries which are our inheritance under this form of government, and which muſt be our lot until the radical overthrow of the Engliſh Conſtitution is happily accompliſhed.—The reader cannot well be ignorant that I mean the *King's friends*, or, to ſpeak more technically, *the ſecret adviſers of the Crown.*

It were a tedious taſk to detail all the labours of theſe good men for this great end. Much of their atchievements muſt have reached the knowledge of every man in this country; but their previous feats are reduced to nothing when compared with their exploits during the laſt year. To thoſe I mean to confine myſelf.

The full half of this mighty undertaking was effected at once in the fall of the late and the riſe of the preſent Adminiſtration.

It is a general opinion, that Fox's India bill was thrown out, not from its defects, but as a means of ſubverting the Miniſtry. This opinion, popular as it is, I beg leave to deny. It is not the

the fall of any particular Miniſter that can conſummate the great work of our redemption from this conſtitution.

Unleſs the defeat of obnoxious Miniſters was accompanied by circumſtances which tended to expoſe the falſe principles, and unravel the impoſtures of the Conſtitution, the whole were a raſh and impotent experiment. Milder methods than the loſs of the India bill might have vanquiſhed the Portland Adminiſtration; but that, of all others, was the beſt, becauſe in that daſhing meaſure many leading and capital ends were completed at a ſingle ſtroke.

The ruin of their enemies was, I am perſuaded, a ſmaller motive with the King's friends, than convincing mankind, by their *manner* of overthrowing the India bill, of the rank abſurdity of theſe two fundamental maxims of the Britiſh Conſtitution, viz. That each branch of the three eſtates *muſt* be independent of the reſt; and that the Crown *can* never interfere with the deliberations of Parliament. The lie direct was given both to the *muſt* and the *can*: For the Houſe of Lords *was not* independent, and the Crown *did palpably* interfere.

Obſerve how much they accompliſhed in this act: They overturned an obnoxious Adminiſtration, formed one exactly ſuitable to their own views, and demonſtrated the impoſture of theſe two primary maxims.

For *centuries* it has been thought, that the King's diſcretion in appointing Miniſters was governed by the opinion of the Houſe of Commons; and, *ſince the revolution*, it has been received like poſitive law. The repugnance of this rule to all the objects of the King's friends, ſhows the neceſſity of its total extinction. In this perſuaſion, the ſoul of the doctrine was attacked in *argument*, and in *fact* it was utterly done away; for, whilſt the Commons were loading the Miniſtry with cenſure upon cenſure, the King was loading them and their connections with honours and emoluments.

A reform of the Houſe of Commons has been for ſome time popular in this countty. If, by any miracle, that ſcheme ſhould

take

take place, and that the Houſe of Commons *continued* to preſerve its weight in our ſyſtem, the reader muſt ſee the total inefficacy of all the efforts of the King's friends againſt the Conſtitution. Perſuaded of this, they attacked the popular branch with ſo ſignal a ſpirit, ſo completely diſgraced its privileges, and eſtabliſhed its debility and contempt, in a manner ſo deciſive and exemplary, that, if the moſt faſcinating theory of the wiſeſt of theſe reformers were adopted to-morrow, not the leaſt foundation is there of an apprehenſion from the authority of the Lower Houſe, or its reſiſtance to the laudable operations of the King's Friends. And the beauty of this atchievement was, that the degradation of the Commons was principally effected by the aid and concurrence of the moſt furious of theſe reformers. The project, indeed, exiſted for ſome time.

That great and good man, (whoſe abſence from our public councils would be irreparable, if his genius did not inſpire the Miniſtry) the Earl of Shelburne, has made an early figure in this eſſential part of this great undertaking. That unparallelled ſtateſman told the Houſe of Lords *, that an old man, who lived ever ſince Queen Anne's time, *actually declared*, 'that the Commons had gained *too much* in the ſcale of the Conſtitution!' Who this old man was we never heard, but—a good old man he muſt be, for he was Lord Shelburne's friend!

By the practice and theory of this Conſtitution, (for this is one of the few inſtances where they do not vary) the two Houſes have certain authorities, independent of each other and diſtinct from their legiſlative functions. The Lords have a dernier and final power of judication—the Commons the power of granting the public money.

Money is the ſinew of civil operations; abilities and ingenuity are fruitleſs without it. What ſucceſs could the King's friends expect whilſt this great right remained intangible in the Houſe of

* Upon a motion of his own in May 1783, recommending, 'that, in 'augmenting the public debt, care ſhould be taken to leſſen it.'

of Commons? They began accordingly with *dividing* it, as the ſureſt method of taking it away altogether in due time.

The debate upon Lord John Cavendiſh's loan diſcovered the firſt *ſerious* proof of this great deſign. The Peers Shelburne, Thurlow, and Richmond, and ſeveral of the minor claſs of theſe illuſtrious confederates, in the plaineſt language, denied this privilege of the Commons. They declared its aſſumption to be an *uſurpation*, and aſſerted *their equal* power of originating money bills whenever they pleaſed. This was only a prelude to the grand ſcenes that ſucceeded.

Before the Chriſtmas receſs of 1783, the Houſe of Commons reſolved an *opinion* concerning the exerciſe of a *diſcretionary* power in the Board of Treaſury touching a particular branch of *money*. The Houſe of Lords, in ſome time after, declared that this reſolution of the Commons was a breach of the law of the land; and agreed in a ſtring of motions, the ſubſtance of which was, a direct charge upon the Lower Houſe of *violating the Conſtitution*, in giving their *opinion* concerning this *diſcretion* in the Treaſury upon the ſubject of *money*.

Two great ends were gained to the *King's friends* in this buſineſs. The fundamental principles of the Houſe of Commons were cut up by the roots, and the fallacy of our ſyſtem was demonſtrated in this proof of the doubtfulneſs and incertitude of Parliamentary Rights; when, in the year 1784, one branch ſolemnly proclaims that the other branch had broken the law of the land and violated the Conſtitution, in doing *that which has been their conſtant practice for a thouſand years*—NEVER QUESTIONED, NEVER DISPUTED BEFORE THAT MOMENT.

Thus having confirmed, that the Commons of England had not half the influence of the Common Council of London, upon the ſituation of a Miniſter, and having deprived them of their vaunted power of *granting money*, there remained only to degrade their moral character to the loweſt extremity. In this the ſucceſs of the King's friends was marvellous.

The majority that condemned the Miniſtry was one hundred and thirty, before the receſs. But, by the abilities of Jack Robinſon, the ruſtineſs of the commons was ſo refined, their paſſions ſo purged, and their pride ſo tamed, that, in the ſhort ſpace of two months, this majority was ſo pared down, that the tottering fabrick of this deſtructive Conſtitution was upheld only by the ſolitary vote of an *individual*, and he was not an Atlas—the generous John Elewes *.

During this ſtruggle no part of the ordinary buſineſs of the nation was tranſacted. The Commons ſat only to waſte their animal ſpirits in voting cenſures upon the Miniſtry. The Lords ſat only to vote the Commons a parcel of ſcoundrels. Vanquiſhed in their own victories, the *faction* at length called upon the King's friends to bring forward the King's buſineſs, and pledged themſelves not to oppoſe it. The majority being thus reduced, the firſt thing looked for was a motion to reſcind the reſolutions that condemned the Adminiſtration: For, even *then* the exiſtence of the votes of cenſure and of the Miniſtry was deemed incompatible; ſuch is the force of conſtitutional idolatry!

Here I feel my incapacity to do juſtice to the King's friends. This fatal contaminating Conſtitution had much to plead in its behalf. Its age—our ſucceſs—our national renown under it—habits of attachment that grew into enthuſiaſm;—theſe made its demolition a ſtupendous undertaking. The hazard of the attempt, the infamy, the ruin of its miſcarriage, naturally induced ſuſpicions of the ſerioufneſs of Miniſtry. But their conduct in this great criſis diſpelled all doubt, and they ſtood confeſſed the choſen few, deſtined by Providence to redeem this nation from its preſent pernicious government—the mighty magicians that were to burſt that enchantment which kept our forefathers chained in the bondages of civil liberty!!

To

* Mr Elewes ſometimes voted with the Miniſtry and ſometimes againſt them. His judgment happened to vibrate with the Oppoſition when the famous repreſentation of the Commons was carried by a majority of *one*.

To reſcind the reſolutions—no—that were to reſtore things to their ancient level, and to re-eſtabliſh that damnable doctrine, that the opinion of the Commons could in any degree affect the Miniſtry. That, indeed, were a direct controverſion of this auſpicious project, and plunging us back into all the horrors of the conſtitutional ſyſtem. The Miniſter's majority in the new houſe is near 200, and the reſolutions ſtill ſtand upon their journals, a ſtaring image of their own diſgrace, and a ſplendid monument of the rapid progreſs of human reaſon over that mountain of prejudice and bigotry which grew out of the very texture of the Engliſh conſtitution!!

As if *apprehenſive* that the Commons might obliterate this living ſymbol of their ſhame, the King's friends took the moſt infallible method to prevent it. No ſooner had the Houſe declared a determination to forward the public buſineſs, than they were ſent packing like a ſet of reprobates round that country 'from 'whoſe bourne ſo few of them returned.'—They were diſſolved.

I am prepared to meet all the objections of the Whigs to the diſſolution. In the firſt place, they ſay it was wicked to diſſolve the Parliament, becauſe the King ſolemnly pledged himſelf not to diſſolve it. The very nature of this objection is the ſtrongeſt juſtification of the meaſure; beſides, it brought to light not a new, but a latent prerogative of the Crown, that the Royal promiſe is not binding.

The ſecond objection is, 'That an angry diſſolution has no 'precedent ſince the time of the Stewarts; that it was in fact 'againſt the *ſpirit* of the Conſtitution. If the prerogative of diſ-'ſolving Parliaments, appointing Miniſters, creating Nobles, &c. 'was to be exerted at the mere *caprice* and *pleaſure* of the Prince, 'our anceſtors would never have lodged in the Chief Magiſtrate 'ſo monſtrous an authority.' What our anceſtors would *not* have done, I know not, but I know what they *have* done. *They have lodged this power in the King.* And what has he to do with the *ſpirit*, when the *letter* of the law is as plain as day-light?

Further,

Further, ſay the *faction*, 'the Empire has flouriſhed in commerce, dominion, and national glory, much beyond any other period of our annals, ſince a good underſtanding has prevailed between our Princes and Parliament.' Worſe and worſe. It is not the intereſt of any wiſe Government, that its ſubjects ſhould be very rich. Wealth begets wantonneſs, and the judicious examples of other kingdoms demonſtrate the neceſſity of occaſional wars, famines, and leſſer ſcourges, to ſtabilitate the Government, and to preſerve the people in a proper tone of obedience.

So much for the clamours of the *faction*—now for the *real motives* of the diſſolution. There is a ſet of men in this country who maintain, that the ſenſe of the people can *only* be known in the Houſe of Commons. To thoſe the diſſolution gave a poſitive contradiction; for their ſenſe, *before* and *after* this event, differs as widely as light from darkneſs. Another claſs there is, who contend, that the ſenſe of the people never *is* nor ever *can* be collected in that Houſe. His Majeſty overturned this doctrine alſo, for he proclaimed his joy at the appeal he had made to the ſenſe of his people; and, for the firſt time of his reign, confeſſed that his people ſpoke very good ſenſe.

Until the nation thoroughly underſtands the vicious ground on which Parliaments ſtand, the annihilation of our Parliamentary ſyſtem will not be endured. The diſſolution went a great way to the attainment of this bleſſing.

None of our civil quackeries is more prevalent than an overſtrained affectation of *purity* in all the departments of our ſyſtem; It is a breach of privilege even to *ſuppoſe* that any man ſits in Parliament by foul means---and to believe that five out of ſeven get there by fair means would be conſummate idiotiſm.

It is abſolutely neceſſary to bribe the people into a proper choiſe of repreſentatives, for they could otherwiſe never ſelect fit Members. Government is the moſt capable of guiding the electors in ſuch a ſeaſon of doubt, and its good effects are manifeſt from this fact, that for a century paſt no Miniſter has been in a minority in a *new* Parliament. Every general Election is ſup-

poſed

poſed to coſt Government a couple of millions. And I am ſatisfied, that in forcing upon the public the vaſt expences of the late diſſolution,---under that immediate preſſure of exigencies,--the vaſt load of debt, funded and unfunded,---the diminution of revenue,---the contraction of reſources,---the decline of credit,--the fall of ſtock,-and a national bankruptcy ſtaring us in the face, the King's friends by that ingenious expedient, meant to beget in the people a hatred of our civil ſyſtem and to prepare them to bear its ſpeedy downfal without a ſigh.

A thouſand advantages of a leſſer ſize, call for angry diſſolutions of Parliaments. Election conteſts would beggar the factions that oppoſe the government. A ſeries of ſtruggles would exhauſt them by degrees, until convinced of their diſparity for ſuch a warfare, they would abandon the field in deſpair, and leave the King's friends peace and leiſure to mould a fit form of government for this country, at their own diſcretion *.

If

* Amongſt the other œconomical plans of the preſent worthy miniſtry, a project was tried at laſt general Election, to ſave to the nation the enormous expence of bribery upon ſuch occaſions. A very ridiculous, and conſequently popular law, ſubſiſts, which prohibits the military force of the kingdom from interfering in matters of election; to attempt a repeal of theſe laws would have been dangerous, whilſt at the ſame time its operation was equally inconvenient and expenſive. But a certain great lawyer, and one of the King's friends, found out by the ſtrength of his own genius, that the term *military force*, did not comprehend *naval force*. And, in conſequence of this great diſcovery, His Majeſty's ſhips of War were ſent off their ſtation, for the purpoſe of importing from foreign countries, and impreſſing into the ſervice of government, freeholders to vote at that election.——if this ſcheme ſucceeds, which muſt be the ſincere wiſh of every good man, many national advantages will reſult from it. 1*ſt*, The two millions will be ſaved to the nation at every general, and a proportional part at every particular election. 2*dly*, The abominable conſtitution will be totally eradicated. And, 3*dly*, Our navy will be kept in almoſt perpetual exerciſe and readineſs; and our naval officers, whilſt they are improving in their own profeſſion, will become excellent politicians, their groſs ignorance of which ſcience was the chief cauſe of our want of ſucceſs in the laſt war. And I would humbly ſuggeſt, that this national ſaving ſhould

be

If the Commons at any future time ſhould reſiſt the King's favourites, a hint of a diſſolution is an admirable key to keep them in time. The certainty of expence, the uncertainty of ſucceſs upon a freſh election, will powerfully incline them to compliance; but, if *determined* to oppoſe, the courſe is obvious—Raiſe an army of petitioners and then diſſolve the Parliament. Every government can procure favourable addreſſes at any time with the utmoſt facility. Richard Cromwell received juſt ninety addreſſes as the rightful heir of the empire,—about ſix weeks before he ſhrunk into nothing; and moſt of the towns, counties, and corporations in the kingdom, plighted their loyalty, with their lives and fortunes, to James the Second—a few months before they baniſhed him.

In ſhort, ſo admirably does the late diſſolution operate, that the King's friends can, whenever they pleaſe, ſeparate that body which the Conſtitution pretends to be inſeparable, and at any time ſo play the *parliament* and *people* againſt each other, that if the Lower Houſe ſhould not be happily demoliſhed *in toto*, it is reduced to a pitch of debility and diſgrace that fortunately renders it nearly tantamount to annihilation—and ſo auſpicious is the promiſe from this brave example, that the Miniſtry can, even under our preſent form of government, bleſs us with all the benefits which neighbouring nations enjoy from the lucky extinction of freedom, and the judicious ſurrender of theſe obnoxious liberties, into the hands of their Sovereigns, which are the ſource of endleſs calamities to this devoted iſland.

So much for the acceſſion of the preſent Miniſtry to Power, and the meaſures that ſucceeded it—the diſſolution, and the motives to it.

HOT

be beſtowed upon Henry Dundas and his *relations*, as a perpetual penſion, for ſurely the ſmall pittance of L. 1400 or L. 1500 *per annum*, which he and *they* preſently receive from government, is a miſerable reward for the great ſervices he has done his country ——I am honeſt when I ſpeak of his *relations*, for to ſay he had any other friends, would be to accuſe him of being a monſter of ſelfiſhneſs and ingratitude.

HOT MEN, with eager fancies, imagine that the whole of this iniquitous parliamentary ſyſtem might have been deſtroyed, in the late ferment of the public, had the King's friends been as bold as their numberleſs advantages in the ſtruggle would have born them out in. That the very name of Parliament was blotted from our remembrance, is the cordial wiſh of my heart; but I am convinced that any other courſe than the courſe adopted by the King's friends, had been to riſk this great ſcheme by a raſh and over-vaulting zeal.

The wiſdom is infinite of making the impoſing ceremonies of this ſyſtem the very inſtruments of its overthrow. Parliament alone can deſtroy itſelf, and through that channel only can we expect the accompliſhment of the preſent undertaking. The final ruin of ſo cumbrous a ſyſtem cannot be effected at once. The work muſt be done gradually to inſure ſucceſs. And the reader will find that the King's friends purſued the object with ſkill, and ſpirit, and deciſion.

The Engliſh Conſtitution has veſted in the people three peculiar and marked rights, upon which they have valued themſelves more than by all their other civil poſſeſſions. Thoſe rights are, *the Liberty of the Preſs—the Trial by Jury—the Right of Repreſentation.* Had the King's friends, replete with all the authorities requiſite for the attempt, and in the full plenitude of power, left theſe rights untouched, I ſhould be the firſt to declare them as blind to the vices of this Conſtitution, as inſenſible to the bleſſings of a ſimple Monarchy, as their predeceſſors in office. But they have bravely vindicated themſelves from all ſuſpicions.

The liberty of the preſs is a grievance of the firſt magnitude. Unleſs it be wholly aboliſhed, all hopes of ſucceſs to the GREAT CAUSE are utterly deluſive. Aware of its influence, the Adminiſtration made the boldeſt effort for its complete overthrow that can be found in the records of legiſlation.

Things were not quite mature for attacking the preſs in England, where people are ſtill under ſome infatuations in favour of it;

it; the puſh was made in Ireland, where the enterpriſe was ſingularly favoured by a concurrence of circumſtances. One of the principal Miniſters, Mr John Foſter, brought a bill into the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, ſo remarkably well adapted to the exigency, that it paſſed into a law as the Miniſtry ſketched it out, the Iriſh, and by this time perhaps the Engliſh, would have all the benefits of the French government regarding the preſs, where a ballad cannot be publiſhed without the King's permiſſion.

To facilitate its progreſs, effectual care was taken that the moſt inflammatory and odious libels ſhould appear every day in the ſtreets of Dublin; and they were circulated through the kingdom at no ſmall expence. The ſubſtance of one of the clauſes will ſhew that the bill was ample and comprehenſive.

Every Juſtice of the Peace throughout the kingdom ſhall be impowered to take up and commit to Bridewell for ſix months, any perſon who ſhould be found ſelling, diſperſing, circulating, or publiſhing any advertiſement, paragraph, newſpaper, book, pamphlet, or publication, which he the Juſtice ſhould deem a libel. But alas, this excellent clauſe was thrown out by the committee. *Telum imbelle ſine ictu conjecit.* Our deareſt gratitude however is due to the miniſtry, for 'what men dare, they dared;' all their *influence* in the ſiſter kingdom appeared in the ſupporters of this bill, and all their *ingenuity* in the title of it. What do you think they called it?—'*A bill to ſecure the liberty of the preſs!*' Nations are like children, and will ſwallow poiſon, if gilded with a good name. The freedom of the preſs might be truly called the *neck* of the conſtitution, without which it cannot breathe; and, in this great experiment, the miniſtry meant to execute the famous theory of Caligula, who wiſhed the Roman people had but one neck, that he might cut them off with a *ſingle blow*. Had this bill paſſed in its original ſtate, I leave the reader to judge, whether the Conſtitution was not effectually *cut off*.

The *ſecond* of theſe rights was attacked here among ourſelves, under the ſame gloſs and colour. The Iriſh Chancellor of the Exchequer attempts the ſubverſion of the liberty of the Preſs, under

under the banner of '*a bill to ſecure it.*' The Engliſh Chancellor of the Exchequer atchieves the overthrow of the *trial by Jury*, and at the ſame moment extols the trial by jury to the ſkies.

But, were juries annihilated in the trial of offences committed in England?—No!—It only related to our poſſeſſions in India, where more crimes are perpetrated in ſeven days, than in the reſt of the empire in ſeven years.

The third is the *right of repreſentation.*

The *very firſt* proceeding of the new parliament proves, that the people really have no ſuch right, and promotes THE CAUSE as deciſively, as if the cuſtom of calling parliaments was laid aſide altogether. The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny (the proceeding to which I allude) is pregnant with a thouſand advantages. The King calls a Houſe of Commons for the deſpatch of urgent concerns upon a fixed day. To deſpatch theſe concerns they muſt *meet.* Now, meet they cannot, for the returning officer will not ſuffer them. Why?—Becauſe he cannot tell which is the greater number, *two* or *one.* What then is to become of the *urgent concerns?*—No matter. This determination, you obſerve, as to law and principle, is tantamount to the poſitive denial of this *right of repreſentation.* But the great virtue of the deciſion conſiſts in its overturning doctrines by wholeſale, which have been reverenced for ages in this wicked conſtitution. It proves that the people may be bound by laws *not of their own making.* That they muſt pay taxes to which *they did not conſent.* It makes election a farce, and a popular choice the means of having no choice at all. The *candidate of the court* has only to tell the *officer of the court*, that his adverſary had bad votes, and the whole is done at once. *This is the law of England*, and the principle is univerſal in its operation, whether the caſe be Weſtminſter or Weſt Lothian.

But, ſay the enemy,—'This deciſion is a direct violation of 'law, conſtitution, juſtice, equity, reaſon, and common ſenſe—'it is a direct breach of the ſtatute of Edward III. Henry VI. 'William III. and in all the law-books, records of parliaments,

' reports, cafes, compilations; in ſhort, from the foundation of ' our hiſtory, *not one precedent* can be found for this baſe deci- ' ſion.' To all this I anſwer, ſo much the better. Scruples about laws and muſty precedents would ill become the King's friends, lifted to the pinnacle of authority.

Other motives are attributed to this deciſion. The excluſion of Mr Fox from Weſtminſter, and a zeal to oppreſs him, are ſaid to be the chief inducements. Private rancour and perſonal revenge are undoubtedly very laudible incitements to a public meaſure; and, admitting that the King's friends had not deſigns more dignified, and aims more enlarged—granting, for argument, that the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny was not meant as an inſtrument of our deliverance from this pernicious conſtitution, I am convinced, that even thoſe vulgar views which are imputed to the miniſtry carry with them an unanſwerable vindication.

It has been the very extremity of inſolence in Fox to ſit for Weſtminſter, in defiance of the King's friends! the firſt city of the kingdom! the ſeat of empire! the fountain of authority! in the heart of which, his Majeſty expends about a million a year! Theſe conſiderations are ſerious; but the ſucceſs of this daring man was of a tenfold mortification in the late conteſt.—It falſified the aſſertions of his unpopularity, when every quill that worked for the miniſtry was dyed in gall to blacken him.

But there is another light in which this ſcrutiny is completely juſtified. Impatience under defeat is natural, and the genius of human nature kicks againſt a rival's ſuperiority in any thing. Great men, they ſay, are moved by great events—boys by trifles. Not content with having a majority upon the Weſtminſter election, Fox *would have a triumph*, in the manner of which, the impudence of the *faction* exceeded all decency. As if their only aim was to ſatiriſe the miniſter's viſit to the city, the whole proceſſion ſeemed an inſult and perſonal mortification to him, and by their own picture, (which I ſhall give the reader) the reſentment of the court will appear wiſe and proper.

" Whatever this country contains of high nobility, ancient blood,

blood, rank, reputation, and fortune;—whatever it boaſts of ſplendid inheritance, titles that dignify, becauſe they were deſerved, and virtue unqueſtioned from a variety of trials.—The nobleſt names in Engliſh hiſtory, Howards, Cavendiſh's, Bentincks, Spencers, Stanleys, Fitzwilliams, &c. thoſe whoſe anceſtors laviſhed their blood and property in defending this country from foreign enemies, and native traitors, who, under various cauſes, reſcued the nation from oceans of perils, into opulence, ſecurity, and renown.—Even they who depend for their ſtations upon the ſovereign's will (the officers of his own guards) changed their ſtandard upon this day, and ſunk the ſoldier in the citizen *at all its hazards*. Thus conſtituted was this proceſſion, and ſuch are the men who boaſted loyalty to ſuch a leader.

"And if yet higher the proud liſt ſhould end,"—

If any thing was yet wanting to complete its ſplendor—The firſt ſubject of the realm, fluſhed with joy in ſuch a cauſe, bore his part with eagerneſs, and thought his great character ſtill more exalted, in fanning that generous flame that raiſed his own illuſtrious family to the glory of governing ſuch a people.

The miniſter's notable cavalcade to Grocers-hall, becomes, upon review of both, the meereſt burleſque that ever damped the pride of young ambition. Alas!—our couſins of *Buckingham* and *Mahon*--- *Sidney* the ſapient, and candid *Camelford!* * *a city job* with John Wilkes! and a choſen troop of active infantry (to illume the darkened domes of Weſtminſter at night) who ſcoured the ſhops at their return, as nimble as Falſtaff's battalion ſcoured the hedges in his memorable march to Coventry!

No people ever reached the bleſſings of ſlavery without their own co-operation. In a complex form, like ours, this GREAT CAUSE cannot be promoted without a confederacy of perſons high in the people's eſteem. The favourite faction in this country has generally been the Whig faction. To theſe, the King's friends have occaſionally dealt out the public adminiſtration, but always managed their duration in office with ſo nice an œconomy,

* Theſe compriſed the retinue of Mr. Pitt to Grocers-hall.

œconomy, that, in the twenty-five years of this proſperous reign, the *longeſt* Whig adminiſtration has barely exceeded *one year*, though they were four times employed. The King found the government in their hands upon his acceſſion—but he ſoon diſmiſſed their chief (Lord Chatham) and the reſt followed him. The next was Lord Rockingham (begun in July 1765, ended in July 1766). The third in 1782 (commenced in March, periſhed in July). The laſt in 1783 (born in April, died in December). From all theſe exploſions the King's friends gathered up *ſome* fragments which ſtrengthened their own building—But all their former acquirements are nothing compared with the diamonds they picked up in the laſt of theſe wrecks. Lord North's coalition with Mr Fox *had infallibly ſunk this iſland in the ocean*, if the grace of Heaven had not ſent *Pitt* to ſave us! A mortal Meſſiah! the miſſionary of Providence! the light of lights! the ſun of ſuns! the fountain of lumination! the choſen gift of God!

But, was all this adoration on the youth's own account, you would aſk—O no—much for himſelf, but more for his father. Pater et filius *patre dignus*; Whether Pitt's popularity was the effect of ſober reaſon or of inſanity, is indifferent to us, if the King's friends have turned it to a proper account.—That they have done ſo, the reader perhaps may think from what he *has* read—what he has *to* read will leave no doubt of it.

MR PITT's LIFE has been a ſhort one, and, previous to his late exaltation, has afforded very little to make a fixed impreſſion. The chief diſtinctions of his political character have been theſe—*that he began his career as a Whig—that he was an enemy to the influence of the Crown—that he deteſted political corruption—that he was devoted to parliamentary reform.*

A DERELICTION of all his profeſſions and principles is urged againſt him by the oppoſition as a *crime*; but, in reality, it is the eſſence of miniſterial virtue. In ſhewing that his enemy's reproaches are in this inſtance well founded, the reader will underſtand that I am bearing teſtimony to ſome of the nobleſt features

features in this illuſtrious young man's character, and proving his right to *our* affections and confidence.

That he commenced a Whig is doubtleſs. But I leave the reader to judge, whether Sir William Dolben might not juſt as well be accuſed of copying the model of John Hampden, as William Pitt of Whiggiſm at this time.—That he was a profeſſed enemy to the influence of the Crown is doubtleſs likewiſe. Let the *India Bill* aſſert his converſion from that coarſe way of thinking.—

The third charge ſuppoſes him hoſtile to corruption. If bribery required vindication, my labours ſhould not be wanting to diſplay its merits. The cauſe could proſper in *no degree* unaided by this beſt of powers; and to impute to Mr Pitt any enmity againſt it, would be juſt as unreaſonable, as charging *Hill* with wit, or *Rolle* with good manners. The annals of the world cannot ſurpaſs his preſent Majeſty's reign in the boundleſs exerciſe of this firſt of virtues, and yet all its varied and multitudinous atchievements fall ſhort of the *ſingle month of January* 1784. Then it was that the reveries of a great poet became actually realized:

"Here her black trumpet through the land proclaim,
"That *not to be corrupted* was the ſhame."

The laſt of theſe accuſations relates to the parliamentary reform.

The firſt and faſteſt impreſſion Mr Pitt made upon his country has been by the reform of Parliament. He figured in it with a moſt bewitching gallantry, and appeared as earneſt in promoting it, as Caeſar in ſuppreſſing Cataline's plot. Twice in two years he has been in power, and all we heard from him touching the reform, during his miniſtry, was taunting thoſe who brought it forward with envy and malice, or pouring ſhowers of invective upon Lord North, *for fear* his Lordſhip ſhould freeze in his long declared oppoſition to that ſcheme. But the moment his miniſtry ceaſed, he relapſed back into the reform fever, and boiled and bubbled for its ſucceſs, with as much ardour and in-

flammation

ſlammation as Henry Dundas himſelf, who is miraculouſly become a convert to this ſyſtem, and, like all converts, *is mad* for his new faith.

But John Bull (an animal of eternal good cheer) is conſoled with the certainty of the miniſter's bringing forward the reform in perſon—He *will* indeed bring it forward, and the love I bear him forces me to beſpeak the public notice to the miniſter-like qualities he will diſplay on the occaſion. He carried the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, it is true, and it is true that his *dead* majority is 200. *But the reform is a buſineſs upon which men will think for themſelves.* Mr Wilberforce will be brilliant in praiſe of his honourable friend's *ſincerity*, and another dinner in Downing-ſtreet may procure another pithy panegyric from Mr Milnes *. In ſhort, Pitt will *propoſe* it—Pitt's friends will *reject* it—he will get rid of the buſineſs with a moſt technical eclat, and the whole nation *will be convinced*, that the reform is loſt ſimply and certainly, *becauſe he cannot help it.*

So

* This requires explanation. Alderman Sawbridge, in the month of July, called upon the miniſter to bring forward the reform. The Miniſter ſat ſilent —The alderman ſaid, as the Miniſter would not bring it forward, he would, and gave a week's notice to the houſe of his motion.—When the day came, ſeveral profeſſed friends of the reform, and of the Miniſter, begged he would poſtpone the motion for a few daws, and urged the unfitneſs of that ſeaſon to try the queſtion. The alderman delayed the motion for another week, but contended, that the time preſent was of all other the very beſt. 'The reform 'was popular—the parliament was come hot from the people—the Miniſter 'was pledged to the meaſure. The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny proved that the 'houſe would go with him any length *when he really wiſhed it*: all theſe ad-'vantages he was determined not to forego.'---Mr Milnes (the member for York) in a private converſation with Mr Sawbridge, applauded his perſeverance, and urged him not to yield again to delay the motion on any terms, for that all the objections to it were farcical. In a few days after, when he made the motion, the friends of the miniſtry again contended, that the time was unſeaſonable, and great was the alderman's ſurpriſe to find *this very Mr Milnes* moſt clamorous in the ſame opinion. This ſudden change of ſentiment is, however, accounted for, when the reader hears, that *Mr Milnes dined with Mr Pitt at the Treaſury houſe in Downing-ſtreet, a day or two before the motion was made.*

So much for *ſpeculation*, now for *fact*. Let us croſs the channel, and behold our young miniſter combat this reform in the ſiſter kingdom. For the governing miniſter to raiſe, or ſtrive to raiſe, an inſurrection among the governed, purely to prevent the ſucceſs of a ſyſtem, which that very miniſter was ſolemnly pledged to promote, conſtitutes an event ſo new in civil ſcience, and forms a political feature ſo ſuper-excellent, that, as it ſtands without a parallel in paſt times, it may be fairly ſaid to defy the reach of future imitation.

That a civil war did not enſue, diminiſhes in no ſenſe the merit of the miniſtry. All that deſperate ingenuity, and a brave contempt of conſequences could do, they did. The Iriſh ſurrendered all other diſcontents:—not a heart panted, not a wiſh was uttered for any object *but a reform of parliament*. Great was the diſeaſe, but the remedy was greater. In the effort to ſet religion againſt religion, and by that means to ſet father againſt ſon, brother againſt brother, and friend againſt friend; the miniſtry provoked the revival of the moſt effectual of all animoſities. —That which deſolated Europe for two centuries, and had been at all times moſt fatal to the repoſe of mankind, could not fail to deſtroy the reform, becauſe it muſt *divide the people* *.

Beſide the outrages ſo ſeaſonably perpetrated in Ireland, Miniſtry have contrived that the moſt frantic theories ſhould be diſperſed there, which enable them to propagate on this ſide the water, that the Iriſh mean nothing ſhort of *entire ſeparation*. A cordiality between the two kingdoms had been fatal.—In that caſe nothing *could* prevent the ſucceſs of the reform. The Miniſtry have therefore moſt wiſely ſent forth this judicious calumny, to obviate all fellow feeling, and their manoeuvres are luckily aſſiſted by the moſt drunken ſtupidity on the part of the reformers themſelves, both in Ireland and England.

SINCE

* See the addreſſes carried in Ireland by the miniſtry and their anſwers, through the Duke of Rutland, where a danger of ſubverting the proteſtant eſtabliſhment is dexterouſly ſtarted, *when the moſt cordial union ſubſiſted between all the religions in that kingdom*.

SINCE WE ARE YET conſtrained to endure the evil of parliamentary legiſlation, the next inquiry is, whether Mr Pitt has profited of the public idolatry? If he has been a nigard in the uſes of his fortune, and betrayed a puſillanimous moderation in the limitleſs power his good ſtars conferred upon him, it were undoubtedly criminal; but you will find he ſtands guiltleſs of this imputation.

Throughout the ſeſſions, the Miniſter kept his eye ſteadily upon THE CAUSE. Whatever is moſt hoſtile to the principles of this conſtitution, is traced and eſtabliſhed in almoſt every meaſure he has introduced.

Our ſyſtem of government inculcates good faith, and, at the ſame time, a due oeconomy towards the public creditors. The Miniſter ſubverted the firſt in his conduct upon the *Navy bills*, and the ſecond upon the *Ordinance debentures*. Public faith and public oeconomy were ſpiritedly abandoned in both tranſactions. The taxes he has impoſed, may, with truth, be called a compendium of *all* that is obnoxious to conſtitutional doctrines.—'Though all the winds of heaven ſhould enter the ragged cabin 'of the pooreſt peaſant—the King ſhall not, the King dare not 'enter it,'—ſaid the Earl of Chatham, in a ſpeech reprobating *exciſe laws*. The meaneſt knave that cheats the public, to cheat the King, as an exciſe officer, not only *dares*, but *ſhall* enter and ſearch, not merely every houſe, but every crevice of it, if he chooſe, ſays the Earl of Chatham's ſon, in the ſubſtance of a ſpeech *eſtabliſhing* exciſe laws.

The *game acts* have generally been deemed a ſpecies of *foreſt laws*. Now, Mr Pitt's game act has *no other* operation than nerving thoſe laws with new energy. As a ſource of revenue it is long given up, but it poſſeſſes this mark of a great capacity, that all the ſkill of the kingdom combined is unequal to its comprehenſion.—Too ſubtile and ſublime for vulgar underſtandings, the only meaning on the face of it conſiſts in ſtimulating men to perſecute each other, by an unexempled encouragement to informers.

The

The *commutation tax* is the burthen of every exclamation from Penzance to the Orkneys, and in that long diſtrict we are told there is but one opinion upon it (except at the treaſury and in Leadenhall-ſtreet.) I will not combat prejudice, but of this I am ſatisfied, that there is in the commutation tax ſomething better for *us* than the beſt tax ever impoſed by the beſt of men in the beſt of times,—perſuading myſelf that our redemption from this curſed conſtitution depends chiefly on the duration of the preſent miniſter's power and popularity and feeling, convinced, that the man who laid *this tax*, and ſtill continues (without much diminution of public or parliamentary influence) to be the finance miniſter of this country, may now with perfect ſafety attempt *any thing*.

THOSE WHO THINK as I do of the Engliſh conſtitution (and to thoſe alone I write) muſt ſee the intrinſic excellence of all Mr Pitt's meaſures in the laſt ſeſſions, but his *manner* enhances his merit conſiderably. Hitherto the preſumption has been, that, when a plan is ſolemnly propoſed by a Miniſter of State, it is deliberately conſidered, digeſted with ſkill, and enriched with the various informations acceſſible to government. But in this method there are two leading defects—firſt, it muſt be very troubleſome to the miniſter—ſecondly, it is treating Parliament with a reſpect utterly repugnant to the promotion of the cauſe.

Theſe defects were admirably remedied by Mr Pitt. Excepting where the conſtitution was aimed at, his meaſures *going out of*, and *coming into*, the Houſe of Commons have not the faintest trace of ſimilitude. They *become* radically and ſolidly the reverſe of what they *have been*. But was not all this conceſſion, good humour, facility, accommodation? ---O fie, no. Such diſpoſitions were fatal to us. He propoſes a ſpecific plan upon a ſpecific day. The genius of man can conceive nothing more perfect, and he is reſolved not to abandon one principle. In debate it appears not quite ſo perfect---it turns out a heap of nonſenſe, and in a few days after he brings it down transformed into a new ſhape. Nothing can equal the *new ſhape*: he cannot be perſuaded to al-

ter a line, and he gallantly taunts its oppoſers for ignorance and abſurdity. A freſh diſcuſſion ſhews freſh deformities. The *ſame* plan comes a week after perhaps, in *another* form, as diſtant from the ſecond as the ſecond from the firſt. An equal loftineſs and contempt of the enemy accompany the third *entre*, and at length it is carried off the ſtage in all the flaſh of triumph---differing as widely from its original nature, as Pitt the ſon from Pitt the father.

Theſe inſtances of ſuperior capacity occurred I believe upon every *great* occaſion throughout the ſeſſions.

NOTHING HAS YET BEEN SAID of the India Company in the courſe of this pamphlet, for it were indecent to degrade them by blending their affairs with meaner matter. The majeſty of the ſubject oppreſſes me, and I am really at a loſs in what point of view firſt to contemplate them---whether as men who, when our empire in Europe was abridging, exterminated whole nations in Aſia, purely to extend our dominions---or as men who, when our military fame had been declining, ſwept off millions of the human race without any other impulſe than the generous wiſh of preſerving ſome balance of our reputation, and proving that Engliſh heroiſm flouriſhed in India beyond the moſt vigorous examples in our hiſtory--- or as men who, when we were ſinking into a mediocrity of character, aſſerted our native energy in a ſeries of judicious perſecutions, provident oppreſſions, and the moſt wiſe and well-managed barbarities---or as men who, when we were wakening at home into a conceited reverence of treaties with other nations, nobly redeemed us from ſuch unbecoming ſcruples by a ſpirited and gallant contempt of all ties, agreements, and engagements whatſoever---or as men who, when our government here became languid and paſſive, and ſuffered its ſubjects to remonſtrate, counteract, and expoſtulate upon all occaſions, gave us ſpecimens of the true genius of ſound policy by deſolating kingdoms, expelling tributary princes like vagabonds, and ſeizing upon their *all*, for daring to plead the ſanction of covenants and the right of treaties ſolemnly ratified

ed---or as men, who, when we were withering into obſcurity and ſinking in the notice we formerly maintained through Europe, made our power ſo intelligible, our character ſo notorious, and our name ſo tremendous, that not an Indian through the unmeaſured wilds of Aſia ever addreſſes his God without mixing *Engliſhmen* in his prayer.

In all theſe views the India Company challenge our admiration; but even this maſs of virtues is ſlight in the ſcale of their conduct towards the preſent miniſtry in the late ſtruggle.

Their influence, their power, their purſe, were devoted to the King's friends. All their diligence, all their ingenuity, all their experience, were exerted. Every other care was caſt aſide. Schemes of conqueſt and depredation were ſuſpended. Their own defence was given up for the defence of the miniſtry. Fraud, rapine, and robbery were left to ſhift for themſelves—even Haſtings was forgot. Every lung was diſtended, every voice clamorous for the matchleſs miniſter. Their orators were hoarſe in his praiſe—Language was beggared for him. Epithets and ink-ſtands run dry, and not a quiet hour did they enjoy until the adminiſtration was out of all danger. In return, the miniſtry were truly grateful; for between them and the Company, nothing occurred through the ſeſſions, but mutual conceſſion and reciprocity of good offices.

Both had but one object, with different views. The company wiſhed to ſtand upon their old footing, the miniſtry wiſhed to prove the late adminiſtration a ſet of liars, and the late parliament a band of libellers.—Two Committees had, in the courſe of three years, formed a mountain of reports. The amount of them was, that the government of the India company in Europe was the moſt prepoſterous and deſpicable that could be imagined, pernicious to the intereſts, and fatal to the honour of this nation.—That the government in India was a ſyſtem of uniform diſobedience, and ſtudied contempt of the Company, executed for the ſole purpoſe of enriching the ſervants, which enabled them to ſcoff at their maſters, and defy all the law, juſtice, and

power

power of this country,—which riches were derived from bare-faced extortion, violence, perfidy, oppreſſion, and cruelty, upon the miſerable natives of that devoted country. This was the ſum of the Reports.—Mr. Pitt's India Bill confirmed the whole of them to be a maſs of impudent calumny, it proved that the government at home was truly a wiſe one, and the ſervants abroad a very honeſt ſet of gentlemen.

The different relief bills went upon the ſame principle. Fox ſaid the Company were in a ſtate of bankruptcy—Pitt adopted the moſt infallible means of falſifying Fox. He gives the Company a boundleſs uſe of their credit (which the nation deprived them of, to prevent a repetition of the South Sea bubble.) He forgives them, for one year, the payment of above nine hundred thouſand pounds (without any charge of intereſt.) The Company turned this ſum to their own purpoſes, and the ſinking fund was deficient to that exact amount. To ſupply the ſinking fund, he borrows the entire ſum at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—with a moſt generous gratitude he charges the nation *fifty-four thouſand pounds a year, for lending the nation's own money to the India Company*, and then paſſes a law to allow them to divide 8 per cent. *(the largeſt dividend they ever made in their moſt proſperous days)*—Thus backed by the Engliſh nation, it is impoſſible they can become bankrupts, and the falſehood of Fox's aſſertion is of courſe as clear as noon-day.

As to the commutation act, it is above all praiſe. Nothing can be more unmerchantable than crowding a ware-room with an unſaleable commodity. Under this mortification ſtood the Company, reſpecting what they call *bad tea*, and what the public call *good poiſon*.

The miniſter's views were purely confined to the gratification of the Company. They could have never ſold *this* tea unſhielded by *this* act. The duty to the public is taken off, and the expence to individuals not diminiſhed, for it leaves the price of *their* own commodity to their own diſcretion. By the *law*, they are to ſell *out*, if one penny be offered for each lot above the Company's eſtimate

eſtimate. By the *fact* they buy *in*, after conſiderable bidding, and then avow their breach of the law.—And after all, what are the objections to this act?—mere declamation—only, 'That, as 'a *tax*, it is a grievous oppreſſion—that, as *a commutation*, it is an 'infamous fraud—that it is unjuſt and cruel, where poverty pre-'vents or where conſtitution prohibits the uſe of the article com-'muted---that it is otherwiſe an impudent robbery, and ſelling 'the nation for the ſake of theſe rapacious men---that, according 'to Lord Stormont, it is wrenching his wretched pittance from 'the hard hand of the poor peaſant, merely to ſupply the pro-'digality of the India Company,' (which objection, by the way, Lord Thurlow completely refuted by affirming that the neceſſaries of life, and *not* the luxuries, were fit objects of taxation)--'That the act (take it all and all) is the moſt conſummate piece 'of inſulting knavery ever impoſed upon the people of Eng-'land.'---That the people of England are the only ſufferers by it, in reality purges it of every crime. Who is the people of England? An undefined animal capable of bearing, and therefore proper to be preſſed with every weight. An aſs that brays a little under his burthen, and is then ſilenced by his own noiſe, into an inſipid tameneſs—goaded by the driver, and ſometimes grunting under his pain, but ſtill waddling onward ſulky and ſpiritleſs.

Profound is the wiſdom of making a nation *feel* it has a government, and abſtracted from this deep policy, the power of the India Company in the Houſe of Commons alone, would juſtify the miniſtry if they had mortgaged the rental of the whole kingdom for their ſupport.

Then have they not the governor, the great Chief himſelf.---'Have they not *Warren*, is not *Haſtings* theirs?'--- We have heard much of what is called the frontleſs inconſiſtency of the preſent adminiſtration in their Indian alliances, eſpecially againſt the incomparable chairman of that ſecret Committee, which brought the ruin of India home to Haſtings. Toward Haſtings they affirm, that Dundas has proved the moſt profligate ſycophant---towards the Company, the moſt unprincipled apoſtate that ever defiled the name of manhood. But, in truth, his con-

duct

duct to both is the tip-top of magnanimity, and the peruſal of the forty-ſecond reſolution, which he moved in the Houſe of Commons upon Eaſt India concerns, will prove it.

Resolved, "That Warren Haſtings, Eſq; Governor General "in Bengal, and William Hornby, * Eſq; Preſident of the "Council at Bombay, *having, in ſundry inſtances, acted in a man-* "*ner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby* "*brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the* "*Eaſt India Company, it is the duty of the directors of the ſaid Com-* "*pany to purſue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the* "*ſaid Governor General and Preſident from their ſaid offices, and to* "*recal them to Great Britain.*"

And, alas! who can wonder that the merciful mind of Dundas ſhould be illumined into a right ſenſe of that wonder-working man, who has brought the very extremes of the human heart into uniſon, and converted the moſt *ſoft* and the moſt *ſavage* natures in this iſland to the worſhip of his virtues. When Thurlow---but what is Thurlow?---What is the ferocious friendſhip of Thurlow to the melting devotion of the Queen of England? The glory of the miniſtry is proportioned to the guilt of Haſtings, in which view perhaps ſome men will think their fame incapable of more celebrity. His uſes muſt indeed be great, for his alliance impoſed a weighty tax upon them, and the following ſhort ſketch of his atchievements, under their different heads, is given only to enable the reader to form a right judgment upon the ſingular merits of that virtuous confederacy. The recital is taken from the various details formed out of the records and the authentic papers of the Eaſt India Company, from the public diſpatches of Mr Haſtings himſelf, and the teſtimony of perſons concerned in the ſame tranſactions. Nothing is invented, and a great deal is ſuppreſſed.---Whatever ſentence the public may paſs upon the events ſtated, the veracity of the ſtatement will not, I preſume, be denied by any perſon of any party.

And

* Mr Hornby is in London, for *his* indigence left him powerleſs in the Court of Proprietors. He is very poor, but then he is contented.

And FIRST of TREATIES.

Treaty with the *Grand Mogul*—for his numberleſs friendſhips to the Company, a ſolemn ſettlement to pay him 260,000*l.* a-year.—Never paid him a ſhilling!

Second Treaty with the *Mogul*—agreed to pay the Soubah of Bengal 400,000*l.*——Broke this likewiſe.

Third treaty with the *Mogul*—agreed to pay to *Nudjif Cawn* a penſion for ſignal ſervices acknowledged—Broke the treaty and ſtopped the penſion.

Treaty with the *Nizam*—Broken.

Treaty with *Hyder Ally*—Broken.

Treaty with the *Mahrattas*—In profound peace invaded their country and took Salſette. Peace made and a treaty eſtabliſhed.—The treaty broke ſoon after, and the Mahrattas dominions invaded a ſecond time. The Company's army defeated. Moderate terms offered by the Mahrattas, rejected by *Haſtings*, and vigorous efforts made to carry on the war, when Hyder Ally ruſhed into the Carnatic under a confederacy formed by the moſt diſcordant powers in India for the purpoſe of driving the Engliſh out of it, as enemies of the human ſpecies!

Various treaties with *Mahratta Chiefs*—made for the ſake of being broken. The obſervance of any two of them would have brought two Britiſh armies to cut each other throats.

Treaty with *Ragonaut Row*—that he ſhould be raiſed to the throne of the Mahrattas, and placed out of the reach of danger from the people, (who mortally hated him) if he aſſiſted in the war—He aſſiſted in the war, acquired no throne, and was ſurrendered up to the people who mortally hated him.

Treaty with the *Guickwar*—that he ſhould have a ſhare of the conqueſts, and be free from the dominion of the Mahrattas if he aſſiſted in the war.—He aſſiſted in the war, got not a foot of the conqueſts, and was placed under the dominion of the Mahrattas.

Treaty

Treaty with the *Rana* of *Gohud*—that he ſhould have eleven ſixteenths of our joint conqueſts, and a ſurety of protection, if he aſſiſted in the war—He aſſiſted in the war, did not obtain a mole-hill, but he got a promiſe of protection in the treaty, and at the very moment its ratification was exchanging, his caſtle was beſieged, his territories laid waſte, and his agent prohibited complaining of this perfidy, by being denied admiſſion to Mr Haſtings.

General Sacrifice of the *Mahratta Chiefs* and *Princes*.—After engaging all that he could of theſe people in the war againſt their own countrymen, they were abandoned to the fury of their enemies by an article in the ſupplementary treaty, whereby 'the Company is bound not to afford refuge to any Chief, 'Merchant, or other perſon, flying from the Mahrattas into 'their dominion!'

STATE of our ALLIES in INDIA.

Ragonaut Row, the *Guickwar*, and the *Rana* of *Gohud*—ruined.

Grand Mogul—in every miſery.

Nabob of *Oude*—in want and ſervitude.

Rajah of *Benares*—in baniſhment.

Nabob of *Bengal*—in beggary.

Rajah of *Tanjour*—deſtroyed, and his people periſhing under every diſtreſs.

The *Polygars*—ſtarving or exiled.

Nabob of *Arcott*—under every calamity.

SALES of STATES and PRINCES.

The *Grand Mogul*—ſold to Sujah Dowla.

The *Mogul*'s territories—ſold to the ſame Sujah for two years purchaſe.

The *whole nation* of the *Rohillas* ſold to the ſame Sujah Dowla, for L. 400,000. Our army aſſiſted in butchering this people, and laying waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. The

wife

wife and children of their Chief, the moſt valiant and accompliſhed man in India, whoſe head was cut off and ſold for a fixed ſum, were reduced to the neceſſity of begging rice in the Engliſh camp to ſupport human nature. The Engliſh commander in this expedition expreſſed ſome horror at ſuch diabolical brutalities, as he fooliſhly deemed them. He was very properly reprimanded by the Governor for his officious humanity *.

Serega Dowla—ſold to Mir Jaffier.

Mir Jaffier—in his turn to Mir Coſſim.

Mir Coſſim—back to Mir Jaffier.

Mir Jaffier again—to his eldeſt ſon.

Maborec ull Dowlah—to his own ſtep-mother.

The *Mahrattas*—ſold to Ragobah.

Ragobah—ſold to the Mahrattas.

The *Mahrattas* and *Ragobah*—both offered for ſale to the Rajah of Berar.

Scindia of *Malva*—offered to the ſame.

The *Subah* of the *Decan*—ſold to the Nabob of Arcott.

Hyder Ally—to ditto.

Rajah of *Tanjore*—to ditto.

Twelve Sovereign Princes—to ditto. The Nabob of Arcott was the beſt of all theſe cuſtomers; but even he in his turn was ſold to his own ſon *Amir ul Omrah*.

CONDITION of PLACES *directly* under our DOMINION.

The whole *kingdom* of *Bengal* was put up to the beſt bidder, (as a good means of relieving the country after a famine) and all the princes, nobility, gentry, freeholders, farmers, manufacturers, eſtabliſhments, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, *ſold*. (It is remarkable that, after this auction, the Banyan

* Major Scott's juſtification of this war is moſt concluſive; for, ſays the Major, 'Sir Robert Barker declared the Rohillas were a very treacherous 'people.'

of Mr Haſtings poſſeſſed territories that yielded him a rent of L. 140,000 a-year.) Such is the excellent diſcipline of this Governor General, that perſons who had formerly paid a quit-rent of L. 200,000 a-year to the Company, now exiſt upon common charity.

The *Carnatic*—ravaged and deſtroyed.

Tanjour—in univerſal deſolation and decay.

CONDITION of PLACES *indirectly* under our DOMINION.

Oude—once paid to the Government three millions ſterling annually—not one million three hundred thouſand at preſent. This whole kingdom was confiſcated.

Benares—The Rajah of this province paid his annual tribute L. 260,000, as ſpecified in his treaty with the Company. Haſtings broke the treaty, and made a new demand upon him (five lacks of rupees). The Rajah pleaded the treaty, and Haſtings accuſed him of rebellion. An army was marched againſt the Rajah, and he was forced to pay the exaction twice. The exaction was demanded a third time, and the Rajah failed to pay it from poſitive want. Haſtings fined him in L. 500,000 for the failure, (*over and above the tribute and the exaction*) afterwards ſeized him in his palace, diſgraced him in the eyes of his ſubjects, baniſhed him his own kingdom, and placed another upon his throne †.

Fitzula Cawn—paid his tribute of L. 150,000 a-year to the Company, according to treaty. Haſtings demands L. 300,000 a-year additional. Fitzula pleaded the treaty, and Haſtings accuſed

† Major Scott defends this meaſure with great ability and effect; for, ſays the Major, 'Cheyt Singe was not a ſovereign prince, he was *only a Zemin-*' ' .' In the ſame forcible ſtile he defends the maſſacre of the Rohillas; for, ſays the Major, 'the progenitors of the Rohillas were not natives, they 'were a race of Afghan Tartars;' and, for the proof of this, refers you to Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan. The *Engliſh* in *India* vindicate the extirpation of an entire people, and the ruin of a prince, becauſe the anceſtors of the people were not natives, and the prince was not an hereditary ſovereign!

accuſed him of rebellion. Forced to pay L. 150,000 (*over and above the ſtipulated tribute*) as a teſt of his loyalty.

It was reported, that the father of the Rajah of Benares left his ſon a million privately; when Haſtings heard the report, he accuſed the Rajah of rebellion.—After the expulſion of this Rajah, it was reported that his mother *Panna* had great treaſures. *Panna* was accuſed, and her caſtle beſieged. She capitulated, upon terms of ſafety to her own perſon and her women, and the capitulation was ſolemnly ratified: Yet the *Panna*, and three hundred women who attended her, were deſpoiled in the night-time of all they poſſeſſed. The treaſures of the caſtle, excluſive of the robbery, exceeded L. 200,000, and Haſtings quarrelled with the captors concerning the booty.—The mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude were reported to be very wealthy. Haſtings accuſed them of rebellion, and they were obliged twice to aſſert their allegiance by the ſurrender of their treaſures. Their powers of rebellion conſiſted in an army of two thouſand women, and two ſeraglios of eunuchs.

(Although, in the eyes of ſome ſcrupulous puritanical people, Mr Haſtings may appear ſomewhat erroneous now and then, his capacity is unqueſtionable, and the Miniſtry, in their patronage of him, without doubt, mean to bleſs us with his abilities in ſome public office at home. His plan of finance would be a fertile ſource of ſuccour in this kingdom, as it is in India. Charges of treaſon, now and then, againſt the Bedfords, the Devonſhires, the Fitzwilliams, the Marlboroughs, the Norfolks, and other poſſeſſors of great fortunes in enmity to the King's friends, would be an infinite mine of revenue. Between Haſtings's rebellions and Pitt's commutations the national debt muſt infallibly be redeemed in a ſhort time.)

VIOLATION

VIOLATION of ORDERS.

The DIRECTORS.	HASTINGS.
We do not approve the treaty of Poorunder, but ſtill we are determined to adhere to it ſtrictly.	*Broke this treaty immediately.*
We command you at all events not to involve us in war.	*Commenced the Mahratta war directly.*
We think Mr Francis Fowke a very fit perſon to be reſident at Benares.	*Recalled him from his reſidence at Benares, and ſaid the Company invaded* 'his prerogative.'
We poſitively deſire that you will reſtore Mr Fowke to his ſtation.	*Your Empire ſhould ſink into the ocean firſt.*
In our opinion Mr John Briſtow is a fit perſon to be reſident at Lucknow.	*Recalled him from Lucknow directly.*
Upon conſideration we acquieſce in the recal of Mr Briſtow from Lucknow.	*Nay then, he ſhall go back to Lucknow; and back he ſent him.*
We are of opinion that you have treated Cheyt Singe with cruelty, injuſtice, and impolicy, and ſtrictly charge you to reſtore him to his throne and kingdom.	*If he comes within my reach I'll ſtrangle the raſcal.*
We deſire that you will advertiſe all contracts, that you will give preference to the	*Advertiſes no contract; rejects the loweſt offers; gives* preference *to his own friends,* loweſt

loweſt bidder, and that each contract ſhall be of only one year's duration.

When the preſent Nabob of Bengal ſucceeded his father, he was a minor. The Directors thus order their ſervant: 'We deſire that you 'will appoint a Miniſter to 'tranſact the affairs of the 'government, and to ſelect 'for that purpoſe ſome per-'ſon well qualified for the 'affairs of government, to be 'Miniſter of the government, 'and guardian of the Nabob's 'minority.'

and fixes the duration of each, at five *years inſtead of* one.

Appointed Munny Begum, *a woman who had formerly belonged to a company of dancing-girls, and whom the late Nabob took a liking to, and after ſome cohabitation married. By the Eaſtern cuſtoms, this woman was ſhut up in the ſeraglio from the eyes and the intercourſe of ſociety—yet ſhe was ſolemnly inveſted with all the functions of government, and made guardian of the young Nabob. His* own mother *was then alive in the ſeraglio, but Haſtings choſe his* ſtep-mother, *'as a perſon well 'qualified for the affairs of go-'vernment, for the office of a 'Miniſter, and for the guar-'dianſhip of a Prince†.'*

MONEY.

Before we examine the clandeſtine receipt of money, it is right to obſerve the terms of the act of parliament upon that ſubject. Theſe are the words, 'That no *Governour General*, or any of the 'council, ſhall, directly or indirectly, accept, receive, or take, 'of

† A minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr Francis, upon this buſineſs, concludes in theſe words: 'We believe there never was an in-'ſtance in India of a truſt ſo diſpoſed of!'—In p. 39. 40. the reader will find ſomething which perhaps he may deem explanatory of this appointment.

'of or from any perſon, or perſons, or *on any account whatſoever*, 'any preſent, gift, donation, gratuity, or reward, pecuniary or 'otherwiſe.'—Now for the obſervance of the act.

First Sum—*Twenty-three thouſand pounds from* Cheit Singe.

Second Sum—*Thirty-four thouſand five hundred pounds.* From whom this preſent came never appeared.

Third Sum—*Sixteen thouſand pounds.* The donor unknown.

Fourth Sum—*Twenty-three thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-one pounds.* The donor unknown.

The firſt ſum Mr Haſtings *ſaid* he paid into the hands of the ſub-treaſurers at Calcutta—but the company never received *any other* account that it was really paid.—For the ſecond ſum he takes bonds of the Company, as if the money was his own, and afterwards relinquiſhes a part of it, as the Company's right. It is all his own at one time, only two thirds of it at another, and at laſt he ſurrenders his whole claim of it.—For the third ſum he likewiſe takes a bond, as if the money was all his own, and in ſome time after he yields the entire back again to the Company.—The fourth ſum he likewiſe claimed as his own at one time, and abandoned at another time as the Company's property.

There is beſides theſe a claim made by Mr Haſtings upon the Company of *twenty-nine thouſand pounds* for Durbar charges. In ſome time after, however, he recollects that *this* money alſo belonged to the Company, and remits the claim.—(The reader ſhould be informed, that Mr Haſtings never acknowledged the receipt of any moneys thus acquired, until after Mr Francis took his paſſage for England, and after the Houſe of Commons had appointed the two committees to inquire into the Company's affairs.)

Fifth Sum—*One hundred thouſand pounds*, a preſent to Mr Haſtings by the Subah of Oude. (The Soubah owed the Company an enormous debt at the ſame time.)

This ſum was paid by bills on a great money-lender of Benares, and the negociation of the bills rendered the concealment of

of the tranſaction next to impoſſible. Mr Haſtings took a particular fancy to this preſent, and begged the Company would let him have it. The Company refuſed his requeſt, and referred him to the act of parliament. The act declares all preſents to be the property of the Company, but not as a ſanction for receiving them, which the act poſitively prohibits. The view is only 'to inveſt the Company with a legal title to a civil ſuit.' By his own confeſſion Mr Haſtings received L. 228,000, in about one year and five months of this forbidden money.

MISCELLANEOUS CHARGES.

Tippo Saib.—The Mahrattas, in the treaty, inſiſted an article ſhould be inſerted to give Hyder, or his ſon, (Hyder ſoon after died) the benefit of peace, if he choſe to accept it, and Haſtings ordered Anderſon to admit in the treaty a clauſe to that ſenſe. But here he diſplayed infinite faculty—for, *at the very moment* he admitted an article to make peace with Tippo Saib, he projected a plan with Madagee Scindia for his total deſtruction, and actually parcelled out his dominions to be divided between them.

I am aware that ſome puny infirm mortals will be apt to exclaim a little upon this occaſion, (the cruelties our priſoners received under Tippoo being freſh in their memory,) and perhaps the juſtice of Providence will be queſtioned—*Why* does the poor ſoldier or ſubaltern, guiltleſs of this infamous treachery, *ſuffer?* and they who wantonly provoked this barbarity, lord it in all the banefulneſs of triumphant impunity? The goodneſs of Providence, too, perhaps may be implored, to give ſome conſolation to the thouſands that lament at this moment in the bitterneſs of anguiſh, the hard fate of their dear relatives who fell the victims of a ſevere though juſt retaliation. But, after all, there would be more piety than policy in ſuch exclamations! We know

know that battles were never ſo deſperately fought, as when the wiſe cuſtom prevailed of cutting off the priſoners heads after dinner; and the revival of that uſeful valour which ſprings from the certainty of death to captives, was, I doubt not, one of Mr Haſtings's motives in ſtimulating Tippo Saib to this exemplary rigour.

Munny Begum---Receiving *one million fifty thouſand rupees* from Munny (the Nabob's Miniſter and Guardian) for AN ENTERTAINMENT---This he never denied, but reproached his colleagues bitterly † for making the diſcovery. It certainly was very impolite.

Phouſedar of *Hughly*---Diſpoſſeſſing a man of this office, and appointing another in his place, with a ſalary of 72,000 rupees *per annum*, out of which ſalary Haſtings himſelf was to have 36,000, and his Banyan, for managing the buſineſs, 4000 more.

The reader will find this curious affair at large in the eleventh report of the ſelect Committee, with its Appendix, and it is really worth his peruſal. Haſtings diſcovered infinite ability in the evaſion of inquiries into theſe and many other charges. To uſe the words of the poet, 'No man has a more engaging preſence 'of mind on the road.' His genius ſparkles with greater refulgence in proportion to the magnitude of his danger. We underſtand the gaining over, or buying off an enemy, indifferently well in this country---promotion, bribery, retirement, and many other dexterous devices, are familiar to us. But the beſt among us are botches in the art. Set our boldeſt efforts beſide Haſtings, and what a contemptible figure they make! A grievous charge lay againſt him at a particular time, and in the whole

† General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr Francis. Theſe gentlemen make the following declaration in a minute, dated May 25. 1775: 'In the late proceedings of the Revenue Board, it appears that there is no ſpecies of peculation from which the Governor General has thought proper to abſtain.'

whole world there was but one † man who could injure him---It was no ſeaſon for indeciſion, and his expedient was at leaſt equal to the peril. He indicted the man for a conſpiracy, and, failing in that, he accuſed him of a new crime, and the man was *hanged* directly. The moſt captivating theory in Machiavel is mere milkineſs to this method of ſilencing an enemy. In that hour, and in that act, periſhed *all* the accuſers of Mr Haſtings in the *Eaſt*.

The ſame ſplendid capacity is diſplayed upon every exigency. His judgment told him once, it would be right to reſign his office, and he deſpatched an agent (Mr Maclean) for this expreſs purpoſe. The reſignation was formally notified, and formally accepted. His judgment afterwards told him it would be wrong to reſign; and then he ſolemnly denied having confided any ſuch commiſſion to the agent whom he deſpatched for that very purpoſe. Should he---who yeſterday could ſay unto his kneeling ſlave, 'Riſe up and be a king'---become the willing inſtrument of his own degradation!---ſhould he, who ſunk the deſcendant of Tamerlane into ſhame and want, ſink himſelf into a private citizen of this country!---ſhould that ſtar that luminates a world, twinkle through the ſtreets of this ſaucy town unnoticed, perhaps, or noticed only to be deſpiſed! and ſurrender the gorgeous grandeur of his preſent ſituation on the deſperate riſk of fading into the falſe glare and counterfeit honour of a Britiſh Peerage!

Such is the Governor General of Bengal——but, with all his merits, he had been a dead weight upon the Miniſtry, if they had not fortunately influenced the moſt ſacred perſonage in this country, by her reception of his wife, and by the ſanction of her ſmiles, to give operation to his powers, and currency to his character.

Nothing leſs could ſerve the great end in view. Not the burthen of ten thouſand hawkers freighted daily by the unfatigued

 eternal

† Nundeomar.

eternal Major.---Nor the recantation of Dundas, nor all his ſlimy panegyrics---nor the perſpicuous inanities of Pitt---nor the barbarous growling of Thurlow, could ſtem the torrents that flowed from the Reports of the Committees---Even *Robinſon Cruſoe* † failed. The cordial hug of Mrs Haſtings, freſh in Oriental fragrance, and blooming in all her unpolluted virtues, could alone turn their Indian ſyſtem in favour of the preſent, and throw a ſtigma upon the late miniſtry---thoſe bad men who had ſo baſely perſecuted the moſt ſpotleſs huſband of the moſt ſpotleſs wife in Chriſtendom.

So much for the ſervices of the India Company to the King's friends, and their grateful ſacrifices in return.

THE PRINCIPLES of a Government are greatly definable from the means uſed to obtain its patronage, and ſeveral events have occurred to elucidate the aims of the preſent Miniſtry by this rule, as well as to eſtabliſh in our hearts a confidence in their ſincerity.

Againſt the equal ſpirit of the common law of England, and the wicked caution of ſtatutes in favour of the ſubjects liberty, the friends of the Crown had, upon exigencies, one certain ſource of ſupport---I mean the twelve Judges, and thoſe, to do them juſtice, have ſeldom failed them. The integrity of Judges has been much blazoned ſince the King has been robbed of the power of removing them, but in this aſſumption there is in reality leſs truth than affectation. The Judges, upon being fixed for life, grew rather prudiſh than chaſte, and had more coquetry than ſolid paſſion in their boaſted independence. When the Crown has tried them, the ſame convenient pliancy—the ſame temper of expedient ductility, the ſame relaxableneſs of mind that characteriſed their predeceſſors, have ſeldom been wanting. There are indeed ſome fierce indomitable ſpirits, even now upon the

† Lord Thurlow ſaid, the Reports of the Houſe of Commons had juſt as much weight with him, as reading Robinſon Cruſoe.

the bench, whoſe rugged and clumſy attachment to their duties, would, I fear, be proof to the arts of the mighty necromancer, Pitt himſelf—but theſe I truſt are not the larger number. Others there are who, on the ſolemn tribunal of diſpenſing the law—in the ſacred ſeat of juſtice, can yield to their ambitions, and direct the incenſe to the proper channel. The right of juries is one of the worſt evils of this conſtitution, and the only candidate for the only great judicial office likely to be ſoon vacated, timed his efforts to abridge thoſe pernicious rights moſt excellently, and in charging twelve men to convict a fellow ſubject (ſtrictly prohibiting the conſideration of his guilt) had views far ſuperior to the luſt of puniſhing, or a ſanguinary ſpirit of perſecution, (though both are undoubtedly laudable paſſions in a Judge.) In Sir Francis Buller's charge to the Jury who tried the Dean of St Aſaph, nothing implacable, nothing rancorous to the Dean diſgraced his lips. He could owe *him* no perſonal ſpite, as he truly obſerved, when the judgment was arreſted. He was, I doubt not, utterly indifferent to the point, if the principal was not impaired. Animated with nobler incitements, the learned Judge, conſcious that the jury's right of finding general verdicts was one of the beams that ſuſtain this crazy conſtitution, and the very inſtrument that produced the odious Revolution, was only anxious to lend his mite to our emancipation, perſuaded that, in clipping this darling privilege of Engliſhmen, he was taking the ſureſt road to the ſucceſſion of the firſt ſeat of criminal juſtice in Great Britain.

A miſtake on the bloody ſide of the queſtion is always ſafeſt. Criminals are not hanged for the ſake of ſending the particular wretch out of this world, but for the benefit of example to the public. The more examples, therefore, the more benefit, and the murder of innocence is amply attoned in the ſervice rendered the community by the execution of a fellow creature.

Creating Peers is another prodigious ſource of ſupport to the King's friends. In moſt countries of Europe this prerogative has been exerciſed upon men either of diſtinguiſhed family, extenſive

tenſive properties honourably acquired, or eminent profeſſional merit—but limited to ſuch reſtrictions with us, it had been rather an incumbrance than an inſtrument of power—*non tali auxilio nec defenſoribus iſtis tempus eget.* Men of this deſcription had never elevated the Britiſh Houſe of Lords to the dignity of a Divan; for how could the King's friends depend upon ſuch men? —To ſteer wide of this evil, the new miniſtry have judiciouſly gone to the very oppoſite extreme, and overturned the ordinary ſyſtem ſo excellently, that, in the conferring of titles, the rate of private inſult and public indecorum has been the only meaſure —A fixed ratio of rank is eſtabliſhed—the degree proportioned to the ſtrength of the alliance. So many make an Earl, ſo many a Viſcount, &c. Engliſh or Iriſh—according to the caſe.

THE COMPOSITION of the public cabinet beams the brighteſt proſpects upon this nation—The Gower's and the Thurlow's are ſuperior to ſuſpicion—*Their* whole life is one continued chain of demonſtrations of zeal and ſincerity for *the cauſe.* As little reaſon is there to doubt the other members, if their true characters were underſtood. Lord Cambden might perhaps create ſome qualms from ſuſpicions of Whiggiſm. If Lord Cambden had raſhly oppoſed the miniſtry in trampling upon a Houſe of Commons that dared to defy the power, and inſolently rejected the corruptions of government—If Lord Cambden defended the Conſtitution when Lord Temple with his intrepid aſſociates made a bold breach in the very centre of it—If Lord Cambden reprobated the doctrine of originating money bills in the Upper Houſe, and reſiſted a motion which imputed a breach of law and conſtitution to the Commons of England, *for declaring an opinion concerning the public money.*—If Lord Cambden took this courſe, his guilt cannot be concealed; but having done the very reverſe of it, I maintain the imputation of Whiggiſm is a libel againſt his Lordſhip. But let us not be ſcared by a bugbear!—What is the name of a Whig! If Lord Cambden's title to the ſound were never ſo undiſputed, we have this ſupreme

conſolation,

conſolation, that his Lordſhip has vindicated ſome of the moſt comfortable doctrines that ever bruſhed from the eyes of mankind, this film called liberty. *Diſcretion* and *ſtate neceſſity* (thoſe valuable doctrines which zealots fooliſhly call the law of tyrants) have been carried farther by Lord Cambden than by any other man in this kingdom. Aſſuming a power to ſuſpend law coſt James II. his crown, and prevented the happineſs of this nation by producing the revolution. This very principle, *whenever the King thinks it wiſe to ſuſpend*, has been vindicated by Lord Cambden in ſome of the moſt ſplendid harangues ever delivered in the Houſe of Peers *.

Situation has amazing influence upon ſome politicians; and if the Chancellorſhip, in the bloom of his abilities ſeventeen years ſince, perſuaded Lord Cambden into the excellence of this laſt and greateſt of James the Second's principles, it is a fair preſumption that the Preſidency of the Council at his preſent time of life, impaired in faculties, and ſtrengthened by years and by experience in that love of the good things of this world inſeparable from old age, and againſt which the enmity of lawyers in particular is not very uniform, will impel him to compliances far more liberal and deciſive.

But are there not others in the public cabinet challengeable for affection to this *great cauſe?* Stands not the Duke of Richmond committed upon points directly adverſe to the demolition of this conſtitution?—From all anxiety in this reſpect I ſhall have little difficulty in reſcuing the reader. I do admit that the Duke of Richmond, encumbered with principles in any meaſure adequate to his profeſſions, might be an impediment: but the big breaſtwork of conſtitutional defence, erected by his Grace in the days of his oppoſition to the King's friends, is in truth reduced to the level of his own military genius, and the capture of this conſtitution will be juſt as effectually obſtructed by

* See the debates upon the corn proclamation in 1768.

by *his* political ſyſtem, as the capture of the kingdom by his *fortifications*, if it was invaded by an enemy.

Conſiſtency in the new allies would be fatal to our welfare, and all of them who have vindicated their claim to *our* affections by a ſincere dereliction of their former principles, and a thorough oblivion of paſt declarations, opinions, and doctrines, *ſhould* have our affections. Foremoſt in this line of ſervice ſtands his Grace the Duke of Richmond, as the reader will ſee from this brief review.

The Duke ſaid, he never deſerted and never would deſert his friends—in eighty-two he kept, and in eighty-three recovered, his place by their down-fall and his deſertion. He ever was, and ever will be a whig—he ſupported every effort of the King's friends for the laſt twelve months, which radically overturns the whole ſyſtem of whiggiſm. He ever was, and will ever be an enemy to coalitions—he is linked in bonds of dearneſs with Gower and Thurlow, Dundas and Jenkinſon. He ever was, and ever will be a foe to ſecret influence—he bends every day with a contrite reverence to the high prieſts of the temple. He always did, and always will, oppoſe the influence of the crown—he lately helped to increaſe it beyond all former examples. He had ſo little regard for the perſon of his ſovereign, that he refuſed a mark of decorum ſhewn in all civilized nations to the reigning prince, and publicly* proclaimed his contempt for it—he is now the moſt devout devoted courtier in the long liſt of cringing ſycophants. He was the firſt in paſt times to combat all ſtretches of the prerogative—he is now the moſt furious advocate for its extreme exertion. He arraigned the uſe of it violently in calling up to the peerage, a man of a very noble and illuſtrious family—He now employs it in raiſing upſtarts, and borough brokers to the higher ranks of the nobility. He reverences the Majeſty of the people---and has ſtruggled to reduce them into inſignificance, by degrading the only organ through which they can have any permanent influence. He reſpects the Houſe of Commons---and ſtudies to deprive it of its fundamental privileges. He has pledged

* "*What care I for the King's birth-day.*" Richmond.

pledged himſelf never to join or ſupport any adminiſtration that would not earneſtly endeavour to reform the repreſentation--- he has never ſaid one word on the loſs of Sawbridge's motion, although the miniſter's *dead* majority in the lower Houſe was two hundred. He is *quite ſerious* for reform---and would employ every man in England, high and low, poor and rich, great and little, (women and children barely excepted) once every year, upon the pleaſant taſk of parliament chooſing. He loves order---and would place the link-boy and pick-pocket upon a footing with the moſt reſpectable citizen. He values the dignity and independence of honourable profeſſions—and would ſink the great eſtabliſhment he conducts to the loweſt pitch of ſervility. He admires the frankneſs of a manly candor—and perſecutes a brave and venerable officer for giving a free opinion upon a ſyſtem of regulations that changed the whole character of a ſphere of ſervice from which the officer derived his reputation and fortune. All that remains to complete his Grace's character, is, that he ſhould propagate an *Agrarian* principle, and ſtrive to equalize the *properties* as well as the franchiſes of men--an atchievement for which the generoſity of his own noble nature fits him in a moſt eſpecial manner.

In a word, we have no reaſon to dread the Duke of Richmond!

I AM NOW ARRIVED at the darling point of my undertaking, to the review of the youth himſelf, the matchleſs leader of this mighty hoſt! After having engaged ſo much of our attention in the preceding parts of this pamphlet, you would ſuppoſe that nothing more could be ſaid of Mr. Pitt. Of what are called his political principles, further elucidation is without doubt ſuperfluous; but all his perſonalities, thoſe appendages of character which exhibit the mind in the faithfulleſt colours, are ſtill in a ſtate of virginity, and theſe form a various and fruitful theme.

Extraordinary enterpriſes can only be accompliſhed by extra-

ordinary

ordinary means. The overthrow of the Britiſh conſtitution will be an epoch in the hiſtory of this country, and the qualities of the man who effects it, will be an epoch in the hiſtory of the human mind. No man is competent to this grand atchievement who is not capable of inverting the whole order of moral judgment—who cannot give grace to the groſſeſt deformity, make infection paſs for health, and inſanity for wiſdom; confound the intellects of the public, and draw from rank deluſion the fruits of grave and ſober conviction—in ſhort, who cannot perpetrate with applauſe and triumph what any other man would ſuffer for upon a ſcaffold or a gibbet.

The outſet of William Pitt was marked by ſome of the ſtrongeſt features that ever gave an early earneſt of future perfection. In March 1782, he declared himſelf totally unfit for the only civil ſtations he would accept; but by the next July he acquired ſo much knowledge, and the myſteries of government (certainly by inſpiration) became ſo eaſy to him, that he aſcended the moſt laborious office in the Engliſh government without the leaſt ſcruple.

After a long and laborious oppoſition, the Whigs were called to the miniſtry, and when they were thought firm in the faſtneſs of power, a cloſe mine was ſprung upon them which blew them in the air. William Pitt, after one year's concurrence in their oppoſition, ſteps into their places, chaunts up the old ballad—*Sic vos non vobis*, and tramples them under his feet.

If, after many a bloody ſtruggle in ſome well fought ſiege, an ally ſhould come in the criſis of conqueſt, in the very moment of capitulation, and, after a needleſs ſhot or two, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, fill his own coffers with the ſpoils of the town, and bind his brows in wreaths of victory, to the utter excluſion of the brave troops and their heroic commander who really fought and conquered; you would call it vile, baſe, and treacherous. It would be ſo in war, and the nation would think it ſo in politics, had it been the deed of any other man than William Pitt—but in him it was ſpirit, and patriotiſm, and honeſty!

Without

Without affecting a minute analyſis of the moral merit of this act, there was indiſputably that ſtrength of nerve diſplayed in it, that firm contempt of what cold common mortals term fairneſs, that laudable love of power which would demoliſh heaven itſelf to attain its object, that ſtoic reſignation to the imputations of a ſcandalous and ſhabby avarice, that premature apathy to feelings which many a long year of indiſcriminate experience cannot obliterate in vulgar politicians—that this act (ſingly and independent of any other exploit) confirmed him as one deſtined to ſurpaſs the loftieſt flights of ordinary ambition—as ſomething greater than the greateſt we have yet ſeen!

Whether the public, or his immediate connections, have carried their predilection for Mr Pitt to the fartheſt extreme, is difficult to determine. The people, in ſanctioning his proceedings, have luckily in ſo far altered the ſyſtem of the Engliſh government; his friends, in their zeal for him, would have changed the whole ſyſtem of human nature. Their cry has been, in the late ſtruggle, 'Charge him with ſome crime; he is pure of all 'guilt, and therefore the fitteſt man to govern the country.'

Until laſt year, criminality was thought ſo little an adjunct of inexperience, that the counter opinion has ever prevailed. The wickedneſs of age, and the innocence of youth, have been allied in moral calculation even to a proverb—'Tell me the eldeſt 'man in Athens, ſaid a wiſe man, and I'll tell you the greateſt 'rogue.'—But proverbs and principles had no weight with the friends of Mr Pitt. That the laws of Providence were unchangeable—that the principles of creation were fixed—that human nature was and would ſtill be human nature—were no checks upon their enthuſiaſm. Even butchers weeped! Lord Mulgrave himſelf aſſayed upon his virtues! That Pitt's enemies could not confound the order of God, and ſubvert the condition of mortality, was in truth ſufficient reaſon that Pitt ſhould be the miniſter; for they could not impeach him, although his political life was of *one entire and complete year's duration.* I ſay this *has been* the cry; but whether his *ſecond* year does or does

not conſtitute an exception to thoſe theories that ſuppoſe youth and innocence to be ſynonimous, is a knot to be unravelled by others.

From the beginning of this reign one great evil has uniformly thwarted the King's friends—the precipitate retreat of the public miniſters, when preſſed hard by the enemy. Grenvilles, Graftons, Shelburnes, ſeverally ſurrendered at the call. Even Lord Bute's reſiſtance was ſhort. The indelible crime of Lord North was his relinquiſhing, when the deſertion of the Commons was only in proſpect.

A perſon was neceſſary as firſt miniſter, whoſe wants made the emoluments of office dear to him—who would ſtick to his place like a leech to an impoſthume—whoſe callous heart could endure the cuffs of the ſtruggle, and who had the courageous obtuſeneſs to treat the cenſure of the Commons like the ſarcaſm of a paragraph. Twice they tried this illuſtrious youth, and twice he has aſſerted an eminence of ſuperiority in this moſt uſeful of merits. In 1783 he kept the country for ſix weeks, and in 1784 for ſix months, without any oſtenſible government.—He was turned upſide down—trailed along the ground with his head in the mud, but *ſtill kept faſt hold of the reins.*

The miniſter's *manners* in the Lower Houſe form another ground of juſt praiſe.

We have already ſhewn that Mr Pitt treated the laws and precedents of Parliament as the younger Tarquins treated the older—he rode over their body. All the ſanctities and ceremonies of Parliament ſhared the ſame deſerved fate. An affectation there is, in vulgar miniſters, of reſpecting, wherever they find them, certain accompliſhments, (as they are deemed) ſuch as ſcience, learning, wit, belles lettres, genius. Even in the moſt determined enemies, theſe endowments have been reverenced: But this renowned young man ſprings above the level of ſuch infirmities; and, in his parliamentary manners, has dealt out the moſt high and haughty contempt to ſuch members *eſpecially*, as happened to rank high in public eſteem upon theſe very pretences.

tences. You would think, on the firſt conſideration, perhaps, that ſuch a man as Burke was entitled to the uſage of a gentleman. His contributions to the ſtock of uſeful philoſophy—his expoſition of falſe ethics, and falſe polity—thoſe ſplendid labours which augment the literary glory of the nation—his vaſt and varied literature—the number, the beauty of his compoſitions—his age—the devotion of thirty years to the public ſervice—that eloquence which *once* carried his name covered with admiration to every part of the empire—

Admitting him to poſſeſs a hundred times this merit, it were mere weakneſs to allow him the leaſt quarter—for he is a moſt rancorous and remorſeleſs enemy to the King's friends. The illuſtrious youth opened the batteries upon him in perſon, and bravely declared that he deſpiſed him †. This was the ſignal for ſyſtematic operation; and ſcoffing Burke with every indignity is now become a ſphere of ſervice, a regular channel of promotion. It made *Wrotſley* a general, and will ennoble *Rolle*.

By the ſame pitiful calculation you would preſume, for inſtance, that, if Sheridan's literary labours were alluded to by this great miniſter, the alluſion muſt be in his praiſe.—O no—his towering ſoul is a ſtranger to ſuch feelings.

To draw good effects from bad cauſes, to derive popularity from real virtue is mere botchery. Give us the man who can extort glory from poſitive wickedneſs, and ſet the nation blubbering his praiſes for an act that deſerves their execration. The affair of the *Pells* exhibits a ſtriking inſtance of this ſpecies of merit in this incomparable miniſter.

His preſent Majeſty has the greateſt perſonal revenue of any Monarch in Chriſtendom. Four times, however, in the courſe of his reign, have the public been obliged to pay his debts: (in the laſt payment there has been infinite excellence. His Majeſty aſſured the nation, when Pitt was miniſter before, that he ſhould not

† In debating the King's ſpeech when the Marquis of Lanſdown was Miniſter, and Mr Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.

not again preſs upon them in that way; and preſſing upon them in that very way, and in leſs than two years, ſhews that valiant contempt of ſolemn declarations which is indiſpenſible to a good government.) The magnitude of his income, and the extremity of his diſtreſſes †, forced a ſuſpicion of the integrity of the expenditure, and from a ſeries of concurring circumſtances, this ſuſpicion grew to ſuch a height, that granting money to the civil liſt, and bribing the parliament, were deemed one and the ſame thing. The clerkſhip of the Pells is a very profitable ſituation, but never was conſidered as a fit proviſion for a chief miniſter. No chief miniſter ever accepted it, and William Pitt, on the top of Piſga, with the land of Canaan before his eyes—at the head of this government, and at his time of life, with all the great ſinecures of the country in proſpect, was not quite ſo unhackneyed in the ways of men as to ſtoop to ſuch a trifle. No. He did that which was more beneficial in that criſis; he gave the Pells to Colonel Barre, and threw Barre's penſion of near four thouſand pounds a year back into the ſinking fund of the King's friends---into this very *civil liſt*; and this he did in the heyday of the parliamentary ſtruggle laſt winter. I will admit for a moment with the faction, that corrupting the Commons is vile and infamous, diſgraceful as they ſay to the Crown and the Legiſlature, but they are blind, not to perceive that the more this is admitted, the more it enhances the glory of Pitt.

From the affair of the receipt-tax, this wonderful young man hit off a merit of nearly the ſame ſort. When Lord John introduced this tax, Mr Pitt praiſed it extremely; but when he found it became unpopular, he judiciouſly ceaſed his panegyrics, and Lord Mahon (his brother-in-law) laboured daily in the pace of Jacob, with head and hands and ſhoulders, to ſwell the clamour againſt it. Such is the wittol courage of the *faction*, that, in the height of the public phrenzy laſt winter, they dared to carry forward

† His Lord Stewart once told the Houſe of Peers, that his Majeſty had not a loaf of bread for his ſupper.

forward a bill to make this tax effectual; and, on the 10th of February, upon a diſcuſſion of its clauſes, the Houſe demanded Pitt's opinion upon it. The queſtion was put to him in a thouſand ſhapes, and for ſeveral hours, before he opened his lips. It is an admirable part of Mr Pitt's parliamentary manners, that, though he often replies to the queſtion of an individual member, whenever the body of the Houſe requeſt an anſwer from him, he ſits as motionleſs and mute as a ſtatue. For a miniſter to refuſe an anſwer concerning a public meaſure, is always well—but it is ſtill better, that a finance miniſter, upon a point of finance, ſhould ſit ſpeechleſs. At length, however, he declared the tax an admirable one, and ſupported it.

This contempt of the Houſe was a great object, but he had a much greater object in contemplation. The tax in queſtion had been the chief ground of odium againſt the *faction*. The famous meeting in Weſtminſter Hall was advertiſed for the ſucceeding Saturday; and Pitt, with the wiſdom of a profound ſtateſman, expected that the electors of Weſtminſter would be kindly taken in by this exquiſite cunning, coupled with a report which had been juſt at that time carefully propagated, that he meant to repeal it—and that they would of courſe receive their old favourite Fox with the more coldneſs. But you would think perhaps that the perſeverance of the Houſe defeated Pitt's ſcheme—By no means. His fruitful ſoul is fraught with expedients. By the dawn of the day of the Weſtminſter meeting, handbills were diſperſed through all parts of the town, and delivered at the hall gate to the electors, gravely cautioning them, 'not to credit 'the miſrepreſentations of a degraded and deſperate faction up-'on this ſubject, ſolemnly aſſuring the public that Mr Pitt re-'probated the receipt tax, and that he would moſt certainly re-'peal it.'—What chance have his miſerable enemies againſt a miniſter ſo rich in reſources!!

Pitt (in imitation of the theologians, who compriſe the eſſence of moral duties in four cardinal virtues) concentrates the whole compaſs of political ſcience under four cardinal aphoriſms—viz.

violation

violation of chartered rights—erecting a fourth eſtate in our ſyſtem—overturning the well compounded balance of this conſtitution—and the coalition. Theſe are his cardinal aphoriſms, and whether he is engaged in defending or attacking, whether he is opening a great meaſure of government, or diſplaying an adverſary's ignorance, for ſaying *or* inſtead of *and*, whether puzzled by his own or his enemy's argument, in whatever embarraſſments, dilemmas, or difficulties he finds himſelf, a recurrence to any of theſe is ſure to reſcue him. Every effort of reaſon and ridicule has been employed to ſicken him from this practice, but he declares that he *ſhall* and that he *will* continue the cuſtom in deſpite of both. Theſe cardinal aphoriſms come home to the bowels of the Houſe, and a ſonorous bringing out of either of them, accompanied with a bounce of the arm and a long look towards the right door of the gallery, is always infallible in procuring a formidable chorus of diſſonant but determined *hear hims*.

Their political uſes are infinite. After ſo ſtoutly reſiſting the violation of charters by other men, who can diſpute his right to cut up the great charter of the land in the vital part, or to purloin the charter of the India Company in the way that ſuits his own purpoſes? Such grace, ſuch magic is there about him, that, even in the very act of attacking charters, he ſtuns the ſenſes with the ſacredneſs of chartered rights.—After oppoſing the addition of a new eſtate, who can deny his title to reduce the old eſtates? If three eſtates are better than four, by the ſame ratio, two are better than three. Expanſion always relaxes authority, and blending the powers of the third eſtate in the two firſt, will brace the ſyſtem amazingly—After maintaining 'the 'well compounded balance of the conſtitution,' ſurely the deſtruction of the conſtitution *in toto* is his, by right of conqueſt.

Towards the accompliſhment of great events, nothing has a prouder effect than ſanguinary meaſures. Blood ſtrikes an awe into men, and ſhedding a portion of it gives a ſolemn and workmanlike air to a revolution. Even in this ſuperior line of merit,

the

the miniſtry have diſcovered conſiderable capacity, but we are defrauded of their full energy by the littleneſs of the modern character. Miniſters, like men, muſt accommodate themſelves to the genius of their time, and a legal death in England, may fairly quadrate with a military maſſacre in Rome. The principle that ordered the deſtruction of ſix legions in the latter country, was not a ſpark more pure or more noble than the principle which deſtined ſix men in the former country to periſh by the hands of the hangman; and a difference in the *ſize* of the events is imputable, not to the diſproportion of faculty in the ſtateſmen, but to the wide diſparity of the two ages. In confining ſix men in Newgate, and then trying them* for a murder, upon the bribed evidence in all appearance of the real murderers, there was undoubted and deciſive excellence—but the conduct was moſt accompliſhed towards the ſeventh murderer—the chief victim of this immolation. He was ſuffered to range the town for ſix weeks after he killed the conſtable, as ignorant of the honour intended him, as the deſtined ſacrifice in Pope's Eſſay, and though not literally 'licking the hand juſt raiſed to ſhed his blood,'—was (up to the *very moment* of being charged in a bill of indictment with the ſlaughter of a fellow-creature) ſo confident and unwary, that his accuſers have all the glory of that ſubtle and finiſhed treachery which ſpeaks the utmoſt refinement of mind, undegraded by the ſimplicity of ſhame, or the fooliſhneſs of remorſe, but altogether forming that ſupreme, that ſublime villany which marks a true genius!

But alas! the trial was by a jury, and Buller was not the Judge.

Had this murderer been hanged, it had been a matter of indifference to him whether any perſon would avow the thing or not.—Somebody muſt have carried it on, that is certain—and yet, from the firſt miniſter at Whitehall, to the laſt miſcreant at the Old Bailey, every ſuſpectable perſon has poſitively denied a-

ay

* For the death of Caſſon the conſtable killed in Covent Garden.

ay knowledge of it. It was right to deny the profecution ſince it failed, but it was the ſoul of true wiſdom to commence it. Make death the price of friendſhip to a man, and few will perſiſt in ſo hazardous an attachment. All the ſchemes of human life are carried on by confederacy, and if the greateſt are ſtripped of their connections, they become of no avail. When you cannot directly ruin your enemy, the beſt indirect mode is to deſtroy his friends; and, had this proſecution ſucceeded, a copious deſertion muſt inſtantly have taken place in the forces of Fox, which conſideration alone is a full juſtification of the attempt.

Having ſpoken of Fox, I cannot forbear remarking the fanaticiſm of his friends in daring to liſt him into any competition with this wonderful young miniſter, and the better to demonſtrate the madneſs of their zeal, it is worth while to review them both in contraſt.

THAT TRANSCENDANT CAPACITY, which qualifies the individual to lead the million, burſt upon the world from both, the firſt moment they ſpoke in the Senate. But their gifts are unequal, and the ſuperior endowment of the one is ſufficiently attoned to the other, by the moſt ſingular ſtrokes of fortune that ever lifted a man prematurely out of his ſphere.

After a routine of ſervice in moſt of the civil boards of executive government—after fourteen years of long labour, trouble, and toil, Fox attained only a ſecondary employment in the King's council.—Pitt got the firſt office in the ſtate after about fourteen months agreeable exerciſe, without the drudgery of ſtudy, the pain of ſubordination, or the fatigue of long endurance.

Fox begun his career under family prejudice, and had a maſs of obſtacles to ſubdue. His name, like Veſpaſian's lineage, created hoſts of enemies.

Pitt entered upon life in all the eclat of hereditary glory, and had the prepoſſeſſions of mankind in his favour. The name he bore, like the ſtamp of Pompey's foot, raiſed him legions of friends.

Fox is ſo bereft of reſources, that he has nothing to confide in but his own genius and induſtry. He became a miniſter through the people and their repreſentatives, and has managed ſo miſerably, that he can never hope to regain power by any other courſe. Narrow and circumſcribed in his ſphere, he is only a whig—a mere whig.—

Pitt confides to a degree in his genius and induſtry, but he has a ſurer ground of ſucceſs than both of them. He would have been a miniſter by the voice of the Commons perhaps by choice; but finding that road barred up, he took fate as he found her, and journeyed onward even by the path-way. He has ſhewn ſuch a dexterity of addreſs, that he may retain or reaſcend his preſent dignity, by every method that ever elevated a politician in this country, without hazard of conſiſtency; and his creed is ſo comprehenſive that he is Whig or Tory, both or neither, according to the preſſure of neceſſity.

Fox is encumbered with paſſion without acerbity, and diſcovers all the infirmities of human nature in the courſe of a diſcuſſion. Guided by the impulſe of his heart, his temper varies with the variation of his ſubject, without guard or diſcretion. He ſometimes yields up a point with an indecent facility, but ſtruggles for a principle with as uncouth and violent a zeal as if he ſtruggled for his exiſtence.——

Pitt is graced by acerbity without any paſſion, and manifeſts the moſt philoſophic equanimity in the moſt intereſting debate. Undiſtorted by the barbariſm of feeling, his mind maintains an even tenor of uniformity, and he paints the miſeries of an empire, and the miſplacing of a comma, preciſely under the ſame animation. He never gives up a point without ſome conflict; but then he ſurrenders principles with a moſt placid and gentleman-like complaiſance.

Fox raſhly aſſaults the enemy in his ſtrongeſt entrenchment, and is never contented with leſs than the cruel delight of ſeeing his antagoniſt lay dead at his feet.——

Pitt ſeeks the ſafer glory of cutting off a ſtray detachment, and never riſks an encounter in the front: Like a judicious Polemic, he combats the ſlips and digreſſions of an argument, and has the charitable ſelf-denial to be perfectly ſatisfied if he ſcratches the ſurface without in the leaſt moleſting the vital parts.

Fox has the rudeneſs to diſdain the uſe of ornament in his ſpeeches. He employs words only to convey his meanings, and is always impatient to get rid of them. The ſtudy of his ſoul is to demonſtrate his poſitions, and he has ſuch an unpoliſhed averſion to redundancy, that, in his zeal to avoid it, he checks himſelf in the uſe of graces that flow in ſpontaneouſly upon his elocution.——

Pitt with more ſkill carefully conſults the great object of ſound. His words are the moſt ſhewy which the language affords him, and he dwells upon each, like Narciſſus upon his own image. His ſpeeches, like the portrait of a young painter, are always high-coloured, and if he does not convince you with the ſolid force of his reaſoning, he at leaſt compoſes you with the ſlumbering ſuavity of his phraſes.

The infecundity of the former, compared to the latter, is moſt glaring. Fox has not the faculty to ſay three words upon a ſubject which he does not underſtand. He never aſpires above plain ſimple terms, and is ſo vulgar as to be comprehenſible to the meaneſt capacity. He puts his argument, indeed, into a variety of lights, but then his ſterility is ſuch, that he ſeldom adds a word more than is ſufficient to expreſs his meaning.

Pitt, on the contrary, is inexhauſtible and endleſs. He will at any given time, upon any given ſubject, make a moſt ſplendid ſpeech, embelliſhed with gaudy ſhining ſentences admirably concatenated, and a ſeries of ſucceſſive parentheſes, knit together with a moſt ſcholaſtic punctuation—entirely diſburthened at the ſame time of the ſmalleſt † knowledge of the point in diſpute.

He

† He made three very fine ſpeeches againſt an objection of Sheridan's upon the Game Act, and at the end of the third, aſked Sheridan what his objection was.

He is often ſo lofty and ſublime, that ſeveral of the moſt acute of his hearers, nay ſome of his own country gentlemen, have very frankly confeſſed, that he actually went above their underſtanding. He has the happieſt talent at amplitude, and will, with incredible eaſe to himſelf, employ ſix times the number of words of any other man, in conveying the ſame meaning.

Pitt excells in the rancorous ſeverity of his invectives, and the ſplendour of his diction :—

Fox only in the fulminations of oratory, and an invincible ſtrength of reaſoning.

To be blind to one's own merit is to be ſupremely fooliſh ; and nothing ſurely is more exorbitant, than to hope others will rate us highly if we do not rate ourſelves ſo. Fox ſins againſt the grain of this good maxim. Whilſt others think his genius places him at the head of mankind, his own demeanor is ſo miſerably unaſſuming, that he would paſs upon a ſtranger for a perſon of little note.

Pitt never truſts the delicate taſk of aſſerting his own worth, even to his beſt friends ; and every word, deed, and declaration judiciouſly convey, that he thinks himſelf (what he moſt certainly is)---the greateſt man in all the world !!

If power be precious, to ſurrender it haſtily is the worſt raſhneſs ; and no man is worthy of it who does not prove its value by a luſt of procuring, and a reluctance of parting with it. Fox was always diſplaced by intrigues ; but he retires from office with as unfeeling an indifference, as if it was not worth keeping---No intrigue, and no treachery, could affect the Mind of Pitt. He bravely reſiſted a battery of ſix weeks cenſures from the Commons of England, and never gave up his ſtation until he was kicked off the Treaſury Bench.

In every perſonal view, the ſuperiority of Pitt is unqueſtionable. A conſcience that can digeſt a direct breach of the moſt ſolemn engagement, and a total obliteration of every ſenſe of gratitude, when occaſion requires, are the moſt uſeful attributes of a ſtateſman. In theſe qualities Fox is glaringly defective. He

has

has never been honoured with a reproach for *private* perfidy; his mind cannot aſpire to the dignity of a breach of *public* faith; and the meaneſt perſon that contributed to his exaltation has never accuſed him with an oblivion of favour.—

Their Indian bills reflect an infinity of lights upon theſe two ſtateſmen. Fox broke the charter of the company openly without their conſent.—Pitt broke it cunningly with their conſent. The former placed the authority at home, where its defects might be remedied upon diſcovery, which would be very fatiguing. —The latter lodged it in India, the ſcene of every iniquity, where the evil is completed, before we have the pain of hearing one word about it. Fox ſhewed no invention in his ſyſtem. He only went upon the common acknowledged principles of government, and placed the execution in the few, the controul in the many.—Pitt's ſyſtem diſcloſed a mine of invention. He proceeded upon a plan, truly original, and dexterouſly inverted all the principles of political ſcience. He gave the execution to the many, and the controul to the few. Fox placed the patronage not in the Crown, whoſe influence was already too exorbitant, *by the word of parliament*—not in the Company, who had already abuſed it, *by the word of parliament*; but in a body of men whoſe unfortunate honeſty was their only hope of ſafety—for this diſpoſal of it rouſed the vigilance of the whole nation (a temper always injurious to government) and their ruin was infallible upon perverting this influence, oppoſed as they would be to a certainty, by the Crown, the Peers, and the Company, and perhaps by the public—accountable! reſponſible! puniſhable!—

Pitt placed the patronage in thoſe very bodies where parliament forbad it, and with great ſkill rendered it their mutual intereſt to connive at their mutual abuſe of it; ſecuring the indemnity of both under the obſcureneſs of their operations, and the difficulty of being detected. The diſpenſers of the India Patronage under this bill, backed by the Crown, the Peers,

the Commons, and the Company, may defy the malice and enmity of the whole kingdom.

Fox's bill was conceived in the very ſelfiſhneſs of intellectual pride. It was conſtituted ſo arrogantly perfect in its component parts, that no room was left for the ſkill of parliament. Its efficacy to the government of India was never once diſputed, and it paſſed the Commons without one material change—

Pitt's bill, on the contrary, was founded with a view to the flattery of parliament. It was entirely calculated to try their ſkill at poliſh and amendment, and (excepting the trial by Jury, and the diſpoſal of the patronage) paſſed into a law, as radically tranſmuted as Sir John Cutler's worſted ſtockings. Its experience ſince it paſſed, gives us the delicious hope of having the amuſement of new alterations in it, every new ſeſſions, which will happily furniſh debates for the regiſters! paragraphs for the preſs! converſation for the public! and comments for all Europe!!

Fox impudently reprobated the India delinquents. He defied their power, and fell a victim to it.—

Pitt reprobated them alſo with a moſt plauſible gravity, but then he ſecured their ſupport by a moſt ſingular addreſs; and though, perhaps, he refuſed a title to Haſtings, (for Haſtings has ſerved him,) he crouches to his creatures, with the moſt engaging condeſcenſion.

Succeſs is the teſt of all human excellence, and by this infallible criterion, my hero ſurpaſſes his rival beyond the preſumption of parallel.—*Fox's bill was the inſtrument of his down-fall—Pitt's bill confirmed his exaltation.*

The ſame fate characterizes the coalitions that each of them has formed. Fox begun his political life under Lord North. He ſerved with him in the Admiralty, Treaſury, Pells, &c. After a formidable oppoſition of eight years, and when America (Heaven bleſs the King and his friends) had ceaſed to be any object here, he joined Lord North (whoſe alliance was courted at the ſame time by that cabinet of which Pitt was a chief member)

member)---exactly as Cicero joined Antony, and Chatham Newcaſtle—This coalition is juſtly deemed baſe, vile, and infamous---

Pitt joined men whom he oppoſed during the *whole* of his political life, and very charitably allied himſelf to that cloſet cabal, againſt whom he imbibed an hereditary hatred--That very cabal whoſe uniform aim was the deſtruction of his father---who diſgraced him in the year ſixty-one, deceived him in ſixty-five, diſhonoured him into a title in ſixty-ſix, and after plucking off the plumage of his popularity, abandoned him ſoon after to the ſhame they betrayed him into, and left him to pine the remainder of his days in penance and mortification--This coalition is very juſtly deemed wiſe, and virtuous, and holy!!

Having given this contraſt of theſe rival politicians, (a contraſt too long, I fear, for the reader, though too ſhort for the occaſion) what is it, I may aſk, but the moſt frantic folly that can infect the advocates for Fox, with any idea of his equal competency with Pitt to the government of this empire, when (independent of Pitt's amiable deſigns upon the conſtitution, and without bringing any one *good* quality to his aid) his very vices are abſolutely more beneficial to him than his beſt virtues to Fox?

I am mortally afraid that the Gleam of Comfort I have exhibited, from an impartial view of the conduct, character, and abilities of the preſent Miniſtry, may be totally eclipſed by the light of a twinkling ſtar, which I perceive daily growing in luſtre. Should this conſtitution ſurvive the preſent reign, alas! what chance of happineſs could we have under ſuch a King as the preſent heir of the Engliſh crown! A prince conſtituted, as his aſſociates ſay, of every thing inauſpicious to our beſt wiſhes, without deceit, duplicity, or any of the other kingly virtues requiſite to the furtherance of this great ſcheme—who feels the zeal of a rank Whig for this conſtitution—whom Whig topics and Whig characters conſtantly engroſs—who is weak enough to venerate the principles that raiſed his family to the Britiſh throne,

throne, and to love their deſcendants, who accompliſhed that daring change—who neither cants nor affects to cant—whoſe faults, like his virtues, are the faults of a man—open, ingenuous, undiſguiſed—whoſe character is pictured in his face, whoſe heart ſpeaks in his words—who regards a friend with the ſincerity of an equal, and is as cautious of his good faith as if he were not deſtined for a diadem—who ſoftens the prince with the urbanity of the gentleman, and exalts the gentleman with the graces of the prince!

This is their repreſentation who know him beſt, and curſed with our preſent plagues, our miſeries would ſure be endleſs under *his* ſucceſſion. Surrounded by a hoſt of Whigs, and contaminating the land with Whig principles, not one hope would remain for *us*.

I ſhall now take my leave of the reader; invoking the genius of monarchy, that is, the ſpirit of good government, to illumine his underſtanding, as it has enlightened mine—that he may be induced to give his portion of aid to further the general felicity of human nature, and the particular happineſs of his native country—by ſupporting this Miniſtry with might and main!!

LONDON, 1785.

FINIS.

BRITISH
MUSEUM